

MARCH

VOL. XVII., No. 6

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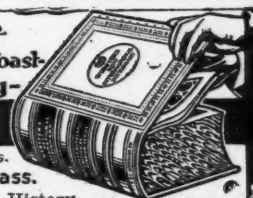
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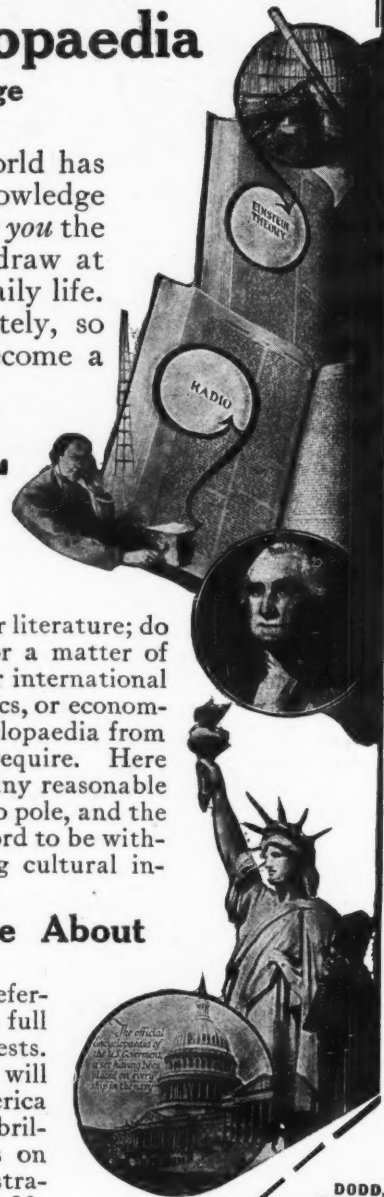
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THE official organ of the United States Navy, The Naval Institute Proceedings, in its February issue under "Current Notes," which is a designation of the important articles published in the magazines of the world that the editor recommends to the navy for perusal, names six separate articles in the December CURRENT HISTORY. No other American magazine is listed. Two are listed from The Nineteenth Century and After of London. . . . Among the subscriptions to CURRENT HISTORY received during February was that of His Majesty King George of Greece, who sent his check for \$4 from the Imperial Palace at Athens, just like any commoner. . . . The universality of CURRENT HISTORY appeal is evidenced by the contiguity of the articles from the pens of Dr. Charles Eliot and former Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan in this issue.

Arthur E. King, 2,340 Seventh Avenue, New York City, in expressing appreciation of an article in the February issue, "The New Negro Faces America," writes: "It is absolutely essential that the younger negroes who are gradually getting power have no patience with the self-constituted 'leaders' of the negro race. * * * We are willing to pay, and are paying, for civilization. We appreciate the qualities which the white race possesses, but we are determined to develop our native abilities to be able properly to lead the millions of undisciplined negroes. We believe more attention should be paid to internal organization and less to good-will parades through Georgia, to African empires and to flirting with Moscow."

W. J. Deans, Islip, N. Y., writes regarding Senator Edwards' argument against prohibition:

"He states that the number of homicides per 100,000 for the five-year period 1916-1920 was 8.9, for the year 1921, 9.3, or an increase of 0.4, taking twenty-eight cities out of the sixty-four of 100,000 or over, and has omitted such important cities as St. Paul, Detroit and Toledo. He has made comparison of ratios instead of totals. The Reading ratio shows an increase of 2.7, Philadelphia a decrease of 1.4, whereas, in fact, in Reading there was an increase of three homicides and in Philadelphia a decrease of twenty-five. He makes

the point that in the five-year period 1900-1904 the ratio was 5.2, while in 1905 it was 6.6 when there was no Volstead law. In other words, in the last citation, when there was no Volstead law, the increase was 1.4, while after there was a Volstead law the increase was 0.4 in the five-year period." Mr. Deans ends by saying that "Senator Edwards might just as well have said that during the year 1901 the ratio of homicides was 4.9, when there was no Governor Edwards, but that during the year 1921 there was a ratio of 9.3 with a Governor Edwards. Therefore the election of Governor Edwards caused an increase in the ratio of homicides."

The distinguished Professor of History of the University of Minnesota, William Stearns Davis, writes in a letter to the editor: "In my opinion CURRENT HISTORY is one of the most valuable educational publications in America, and its editors are rendering a national service."

The growing neighborliness between Canada and the United States is evidenced by the subscriptions CURRENT HISTORY is receiving from across the border. Among these valued new subscribers is the Premier of Canada, the Right Hon. Robert Mackenzie King. . . . From Victoria, Australia, W. L. writes: "Recently when the Chief of the General Staff saw a copy of CURRENT HISTORY, it was placed regularly in the library at General Headquarters." He remarks on the news notes in CURRENT HISTORY, taking issue with some of the statements recently made, but closes by saying that he is "indebted to the magazine for the great enjoyment and educational value which it affords." . . . From far off Kumamoto, Japan, the Rev. David S. Spencer of the Japan Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South Kyushu District, writes: "You are rendering a splendid service to the world. You give both sides of vexing questions. Pour on the light." . . . The former Polish Ambassador to the United States, Prince Casimir Lubomirski from far off Crakow, send a year's subscription order.

A reader at Arlington, Mass., is informed that Clair Price is an American journalist who has been sojourning in the Near East for two years studying conditions there; he is a well-accredited and experienced writer.

Herbert S. Hadley

*Professor of Law, University of Colorado,
Former Attorney General and Governor of
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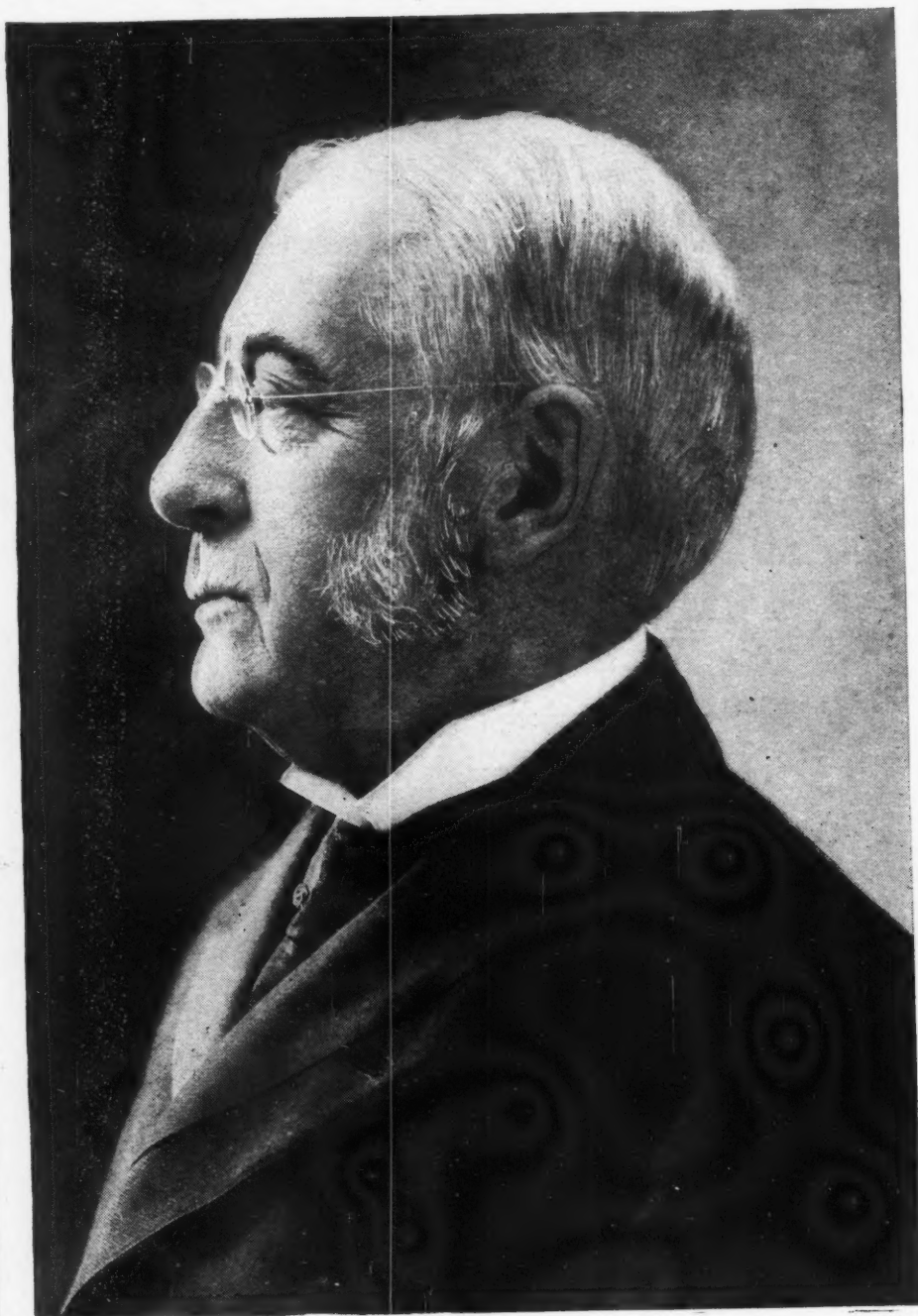
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DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT



President Emeritus of Harvard University

AN ASSAY OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

By DR. CHARLES W. ELIOT
President Emeritus of Harvard University

The ideal democracy—The American Commonwealth fails to fulfill this ideal—Our moral freedom and its abuse by lawless minorities—Prohibition and the Puritans—Educational reform in our schools imperative—Democracy in Europe needs our help

WHAT are the essential principles and purposes of democracy? Is equality among men one of them? If so, democracy is attempting the impossible; because everywhere and always men are infinitely unlike and unequal. Is equality of opportunity for all men, women and children a democratic object? Again an impossible goal; for the infinite variety of human faculties and gifts makes equality of opportunity unattainable. A chance or opportunity which one child or one adult can seize and profit by is no chance at all for another; because the second has no power to grasp or utilize it. No form of government—autocratic or democratic, by divine right or by popular evolution—has ever provided equality of opportunity, or ever can.

The prime object of democracy is and ought to be increasing freedom, independence, comfort and exemption from fear for all sorts and conditions of men, but this object cannot be attained until the poverty due to political institutions or social customs has been abolished. Even then there will remain the formidable destitution or penury due to misfortune, vice, or the natural evils which afflict the human race, such as diseases, floods, droughts, storms and earthquakes. The abolition of poverty, therefore, requires two forms of co-operative action by masses of people under wise leaders: First, the development of equality before the law for all men, and the abolition of all privileges except those based on individual intelligence and character, and, secondly, incessant warfare against the natural evils which mankind has always had to endure, and until lately has supposed to be insurmountable.

The applied sciences, which have developed within the last hundred years effective means of resisting these natural evils, have been great contributors to the progress of democracy. This contest against the natural evils is invigorating for all the individuals or groups that take active part in it. No harm comes from it—only good.

OUR MORAL FREEDOM

Can the same be said for the freedom, independence and exemption from fear which democracy seeks to provide for men, women and children, which, indeed, American democracy has provided in large measure for the greater part of the population? Assuredly not. Real freedom implies freedom to err, to sin, to act foolishly or recklessly in regard to one's self, and to injure others either thoughtlessly or by design. All these harms and wrongdoings which freedom for the individual makes possible are every day occurring in American society, and they are going to occur in the future, because the freedom already obtained in American society will last. So far as we know, the way of freedom has always been God's way of building up character in the individual man, the tribe, or the nation. Only in freedom to do wrong can the will to do right be strengthened. The only limitation which the family or the State can wisely put on this freedom is that children and other inexperienced persons must sometimes be prevented by benevolent force from doing themselves serious harm. Little harms children had better learn to avoid through their own experimenting.

Universal suffrage and the right of association for political, industrial, commercial or social objects have been sound,

though subsidiary, objects of democracy for two generations past in the United States; but it is obvious that large democratic progress was made for centuries before universal suffrage was even dreamed of. How much risk society is going to run because of the advance from limited suffrage to universal, including woman suffrage, does not yet appear. Is the instability of public opinion to be increased or diminished by universal suffrage? Is our democracy to become more radical or more conservative, more liable or less liable to engage in rash adventures? This question is much involved with another. Will universal suffrage select better leaders and representatives than limited suffrage has done, or worse ones? Prophecy on this subject would be rash; but any one is free to hope that universal suffrage in the United States will prove to be wiser than any limited suffrage of which this country has had experience, and hoping is always wiser and happier than worrying.

MENACE OF LAWLESS MINORITIES

In the freedom of a democratic State strong differences of opinion develop among individuals or groups as to what is just and right, or expedient and feasible, in private, class or public action; and these inevitable differences are apt to become hot and threatening. How has the American democracy dealt with them? By laying down the rule that the majority of votes shall determine action, and enforcing that rule as soon as the majority is ascertained. Because democracy in this country has usually observed that rule, democracy has made more and safer progress here than anywhere else.

Two flagrant violations of this invaluable principle have lately attracted some attention, but not enough: first, the filibustering performance in the United States Senate whereby two or three Senators, or even one, can prevent the adoption of legislation known to be acceptable to both Senate and House, merely by talking against time; and secondly, the successful resistance to the execution of the Volstead act by a minority of the total population. Both these violations of the majority rule are deplorable; but they are not hard to

remedy, and are probably teaching a useful lesson on unsound democratic practices. Lynching and the operations of the Ku Klux Klan supply other examples of minority lawlessness.

Current arguments in favor of resistance to the Volstead act include allusions to the austere manners and customs of the Pilgrims and the Puritans. These ancestors of the nine generations that have done the pioneering from the Atlantic to the Pacific, founding churches and schools as they advanced, had for a time strong objections to showy garments for women and children, to music in churches, and to dancing; but they were by no means "joy-killers" in the sense that they refrained from the use or abuse of beer, wine and distilled liquors. On the contrary, both the Pilgrims and the Puritans made free use of intoxicating liquors when they could get them; and their descendants have maintained the same practice all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Puritan men saw no harm in getting drunk at either weddings or funerals. When, under Massachusetts law, the Commencement of Harvard College was a legal holiday, the public gathering on Cambridge Common and the gathering of Harvard graduates in the college yard were so drunken and riotous that the Sheriffs of Suffolk and Middlesex, each with a large posse, attended Commencement, and were always very actively employed. Whoever is familiar with the genealogies of the New England families that have come down from the seventeenth century knows that the commonest cause for the decline or extinction of those families has been the abuse of intoxicating liquors by their young men. To cite the Puritans as "joy-killers," as do the advocates of the enforcement of the Volstead act, is to fly in the face of the facts.

AMERICA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Finally an essential principle of democracy is the right of every child to receive as much education as he can take in and hold during childhood and youth, and then the right of every adult to continuous education from his own observation and experience in life until his faculties become impaired or until he dies. Many people

think of education as if it were an affair of childhood only, ceasing with maturity. Far from it. The true education is that which implants and develops the love of accurate knowledge, truth and liberty, coupled with the sense of duty and responsibility, and also supplies and trains skill, personal power and enjoyment of work. An education which fails to increase enjoyment, as well as to give power, is somehow wrong, whether in childhood or during maturity. A training which is not interesting and stimulating to child or adult is somehow wrong.

The essential democratic right of every child and adult to a healthy and joyful education has very seldom been attainable heretofore in any school, college, university, trade or calling, whether in American society or any other. Only very exceptional human beings, now in one age or country and now in another, have attained to it; and then or there only because of their own genius, and not through the action of governmental or social forces. Neither Athens at the climax of Greek letters and art, nor Rome during the short-lived republic, imagined any system of popular education; although Greece then produced individual philosophers, historians, poets and artists that have never been surpassed, and Rome produced soldiers, statesmen and engineers of high constructive ability, and legal inventors and codifiers who were not equaled until the builders of the English common law appeared.

Both the Greek Church and the Roman Catholic Church developed and fostered the fine arts—architecture, sculpture, painting and music—but only for ecclesiastical and religious influences and enjoyments, and not with any educational purpose, unless for the exceptional individuals who were capable of becoming masters in those arts. Not till the Protestant Reformation came did priests and rulers, like Luther, Calvin and Henry VIII., urge that the common people should learn to read, that they might be able to read the Scriptures translated into the native tongue.

The Pilgrims and Puritans who planted families and colonies on the New England coast felt strongly this motive for the

maintenance of schools, and through them faith in popular education has spread across the continent. But what a defective education, and how disappointing its results! The larger the country, the more heterogeneous the population as respects race, religion and historical experience; and the greater the power exercised directly by ignorant and inexperienced voters, the greater the dangers to which the American democracy will find itself exposed.

THE NEED OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The World War and the state of the country during the last five years have exposed the condition of large sections of the American people as regards illiteracy, ill-health, bodily and mental defects and delinquency.* All thinking people see that the free schools of the country have not been so conducted as to make American democracy safe. The children and youth have not been adequately trained, either physically or morally; they have been left ignorant of subjects essential to the proper discharge of their duties toward family, community and nation; they have not been introduced to the fine arts; they have been provided with no sure defenses against irrational credulity, insidious propaganda and herd impulses. Many Americans, now adult, who were ill-served by the schools of their childhood have learned little or nothing since.

Sensible people, however, seeing defects, set themselves to remedying them. All thinking people who believe that democracy is the best form of government the world has even seen because it leaves every citizen free to do his best for the public welfare should use all their influence so to change the free schools' programs that every pupil should receive a thorough physical training, a sound ethical training, both explicit and implicit, and instruction in drawing, modeling and music, in cooking, diet and hygiene, in the

*An interesting expression regarding the famous theory of the so-called American "melting pot" is contained in a letter sent to the Editor of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Mr. Elliot. On this aspect of American life he says: "So far as I can see, there is no melting pot, or ever has been. In fact, the continued separateness of the different alien peoples that have come to America is the most striking phenomenon of our heterogeneity."

elements of family and community economics and in the value of co-operative management and discipline in industries and society.

ETHICAL TRAINING IMPERATIVE

Doubtless the most important of all these improvements in the public schools is the introduction of sound instruction in the principles and aims of universal ethics. The present exclusion of training in ethics from all public schools is one of the most unfortunate results of the toleration in religion which was embodied in the Constitution of the United States, and of the multiplicity of religions and Christian sects strongly represented in the American Commonwealth. A feasible mode of giving instruction in universal ethics in the free schools has yet to be invented. Several experiments on this subject are already being tried; but none of them seems promising, and particularly none of them is likely to take any effect on that large proportion of the American population which is unchurched. The problem is to select a body of material for ethical instruction which Roman Catholics, the various Protestant denominations and the Jews can agree upon for use in the schools, this material to include selections from the Scriptures, stories, fables, hymns and other poetry, drama and music. Self-appointed committees in various parts of the country are already at work on this problem; and there is no better field for philanthropic and patriotic endeavor.

It will take years to put all American children in possession of this kind of education; because a new breed of teachers must first be raised by the hundred thousand, and also because the people have to learn that they should spend much more money than they have been accustomed to spend on the public schools. Teachers have to be trained who lead rather than drive, who know that the only healthy and promising child is the eager, restless, inquiring and busy child, and who encourage their pupils to incessant activity of body and mind, and to learning by "doing." Schools conducted on these principles will cost much more than the schools which the American communities have heretofore

been content with; because they will require more building space per pupil, more open ground about the schoolhouse, more tools, apparatus and supplies, and fewer pupils to a teacher. One of the most grievous results of the inadequacy of American free schools is that the democracy yearly spends billions on luxuries, some of them noxious, and yet refuses to spend thousands on prime necessities like education and public health. All patriots should urge more money for the public schools.

Among the objects of modern democracy a wiser and more effective education should hold the second place, the first object being the increase of freedom and comfort for the entire population, and its deliverance from chronic fears. A strong reason for urging a better education for the whole people is that applied science has lately facilitated combinations of ignorant or foolish citizens who quickly get together to promote their selfish interests, or to put into practice unsound theories. Universal suffrage and the initiative and referendum make this condition all the more dangerous.

More rapid means of communication by wire, wireless and radio, and the higher pressure and speed of daily life account for some new practices of the rising generation at home and outside the home. The youth take over these new practices faster and more completely than their elders, and so appear to be abandoning some of the safeguards which seemed important to their parents or grandparents. Whether these new conditions are to lead to a moral decline or a moral revival, no social or religious philosopher can possibly predict. Meantime the American public, young and old, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, are just as ready to squander their money on magicians, astrologers, quacks, suggesters, healers and false prophets as ever pagan or medieval public was—a complete demonstration that American popular education has thus far been seriously defective.

EUROPE AND AMERICA

Such are the objects of democracy in America, and such are some of its anxieties. Has it any visions or hopes for de-

mocracy abroad? It still holds in its heart the belief that a prime object of the World War was to put down autocracy and make democracy safe the world over. It rejoices that the Russian Czardom, the German Empire, and the Austrian Empire look dead; and that the small States in Europe, old and new, feel themselves more secure than ever before against invasion by Governments disposed to conquest; and it is beginning to resent the low opinion which the present Administration at Washington has formed of the capacity of the American people for unselfishness, self-sacrifice and the courage of its convictions.

In Continental Europe, on the other hand, the rising democratic spirit lacks experience and competent leadership. The new Governments, whether in form republics or constitutional monarchies, lack stability, and can give no real assurances to other Governments. The manufacturing and industrial classes have neither credit nor adequate raw material. Floods of paper money have washed away both private and public savings. Insufficient taxation during the war and in the four years since the armistice has made heavier the burden of crushing national debts. Financial chaos prevails in Europe, and commercial dealings are reduced to some form of barter. Political confusion and alarm

and the diseases which follow on scanty food and clothing aggravate the general misery. After 1848, on account of the long-standing racial, religious and social divisions within every European or Balkan nation, an elected Assembly was almost sure (except in Great Britain) to fall into several groups, no one of which contained a majority of the members. Hence a vigorous executive, which had objects and wishes of its own, was well-nigh forced into intrigue and corruption very damaging to democratic progress in the American sense. To this day the American democracy does not understand these persistent European embarrassments.

To these feeble constitutional Governments and suffering peoples the Government of the United States, the elected servant of the American democracy, has given no aid, either material or spiritual, since 1919. The American democracy itself looks on at this greatest tragedy of all time and does nothing to help, except in the drop-in-the-bucket way of private charity.

Surely the times cry aloud to the American people to recover their morale of April, 1917, and again pledge "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor" to the cause of liberty, justice and peace among men.

Charles H. Eliot

OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE RUHR INVASION

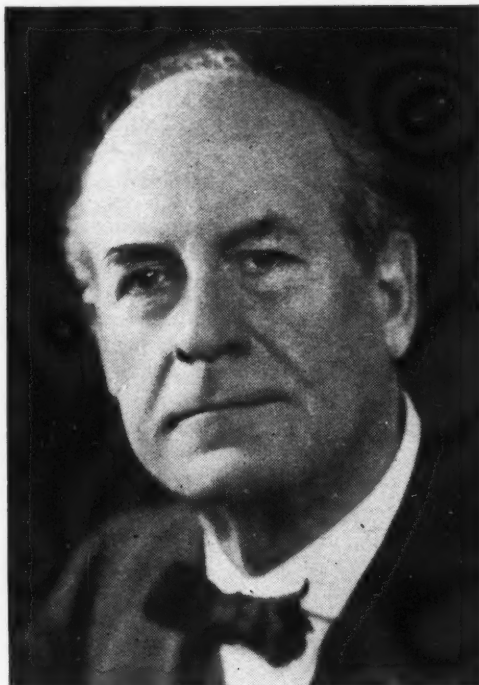
By WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
Former Secretary of State

Failure of the United States to aid world peace—Can France carry out her program?—Friendship the only alternative to force

THE Government of the United States has failed to recognize our nation's duty to aid in the promotion of world peace by giving its counsel when its counsel has been asked. President Harding, as a Senator, voted for ratification of the League of Nations with reservations; as a candidate, he advocated an association of nations. It was, of course, immaterial whether the co-operation be through a league of nations or association of nations, or in any other way, but co-operation was promised. Two years have passed since Mr. Harding's election, and a year and ten months since his inauguration. No steps have been taken looking to any effective co-operation, and the Administration has turned a deaf ear to the appeals that have come from Europe.

Now we find the world's peace menaced by the action of France in entering German territory for the ostensible purpose of forcing payment of the indemnity, this action being taken without the approval of Great Britain or the United States.

The issue between France and Germany, however, is not a question of law, but a much larger question. The treaty did not attempt to estimate the money value of the damage done by Germany. What sum of money would have measured the value of the ten millions of lives or three hundred billions' worth of property destroyed, and of the burden of the new debts added—more than five times the amount of the debts existing when the first gun was fired? The treaty attempted only



(Underwood)

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

to estimate the amount Germany could pay. Some think the sum demanded excessive, but that is not the most important question.

France says Germany has defaulted in her payments, and Germany denies it. Great Britain refuses to express an opinion. This raises a question as to the validity of France's claim, and the question is accentuated by the fact that France, according to Lloyd George, desires to con-

trol, if not to annex, the territory which she has invaded.

But the validity of France's act is not the important question. The real question is whether France is able to carry out her program. She does not seem disposed to consult either the opinion or the interest of the United States and Great Britain, allies without whose aid she would have been annihilated.

Having been saved from subjugation, if not from destruction, is she now strong enough to conquer Germany and control her people—not today but permanently? If so, it may be useless for other nations to advise. She may be strong enough to succeed to Germany's place as the exponent of the doctrine that might makes right.

But suppose she fails! Who will save her from the wrath she is arousing? France is gambling with her life as a stake. The peace of the world may be too trifling a matter for her to consider, but she is jeopardizing her very existence. Unless she is able to exterminate the Germans or to hold them in permanent subjection, she will have to live alongside of them, and have them either for neighbors or for masters. Friendship is the only alternative to force—it would seem better to employ it.

Universal and perpetual peace will come some day—peace resting upon co-operation. France might hasten it by try-

ing it, or she may hasten it by proving the folly of force.

If the world is drawn again into war because the United States, with its great moral prestige and enjoying the confidence of the world as no other nation does, has failed to throw its influence into the balance and to give its advice at critical moments, how shall we escape responsibility for the calamity that may befall the world? And how can the Administration escape responsibility if, under its leadership, the nation has failed in its duty to civilization?

The defeat of the Democratic candidate who advocated entrance into the League of Nations—presumably without reservations, since he suggested the adoption of no reservations—would justify President Harding in refusing to commit the nation to the Covenant as it was written. He would have been justified in insisting upon a reservation such as is contained in our treaties (the so-called "Thirty Treaties") providing for investigation of all questions, and added, in substance, to the Four-Power Treaty by a vote of ninety to two. But surely he was committed to some sort of co-operation.

The great question is whether the United States, reserving at all times its independence of action, shall live up to its responsibilities as the greatest of the Christian nations and as the only nation that can speak peace to the world.

William Jennings Bryan

RAYMOND POINCARE



(International)

The French Prime Minister under whose direction the Ruhr district has been occupied

FRANCE'S INVASION OF THE RUHR

By CHARLES H. GRASTY

Special Correspondent of The New York Times in
Germany

Momentous effects of the French occupation as seen by a trained American observer—Details of the occupation—Germany's belief that the French plan permanent seizure—Berlin Government and French militarism in desperate struggle of wills

WHEN the Briand Ministry were discussing the seizure of the Ruhr, I had an interesting talk with the then German Chancellor, Dr. Fehrenbach. His fear of what the French might do seemed so great that I was led to remark: "We used to think that the Germans were supermen, but we found you were not. Now you think and speak of the French as if they were supermen, but they are not. It seems to me that you greatly exaggerate what the French may do to the Germans." The Chancellor reflected a moment and then replied very impressively: "The French are light in many ways. But they are the most tenacious people in the world. If they get into the Ruhr they will stay until driven out by superior force."

Events have confirmed this estimate. The French are in the Rhineland, and it is very hard for me to imagine their marching out. They have seized the Ruhr—perhaps the richest industrial area to the acre in the world. I cannot see them voluntarily surrendering that key holding. There will be resistance and difficulty, but they will stick. The instinct of any people, apart from intentions, promises or treaties, is controlling. The French are in, and it will take some shoving to push them out. It is the opinion of most people in this region that matters have definitely passed beyond the stage of reparations, and the question now is, first, how to weaken Germany against the evil day of the *révanche*, and, second, how to absorb into French economy the wealth of the Ruhr and the Rhineland. The question might even broaden beyond that, but

for the present the famous Dariac report is the outline of the French design on the Rhine.

FRANCE'S RECOURSE TO ARMED FORCE

The historical tradition of conquest is very strong on both sides of the Rhine. For hundreds of years Germany and France have been ravaging each other, as opportunity offered. It is very doubtful whether on a vote the majority of the people of France would approve of a military policy. The agricultural masses are unexcitable and extremely practical. But in existing conditions, the leadership in France lies with the military element. Their views are definite and clear. At their head is Marshal Foch, admittedly the world's best military mind. Associated with him is the finest body of officers in the world. Under them is the largest and best army. Inevitably the political doubts of France in the trying conditions since the armistice have been resolved at last in favor of a military program as the only sure means of dealing with a recalcitrant debtor. If reparations were not forthcoming, Germany would be reduced to impotency and the revenge would be postponed or prevented.

The military measures have been taken with precision and success, as was to be expected of an army under Foch. At first great care was taken to put an industrial complexion on the advance. It was named "an industrial mission under military protection." At the outset all French and Belgians on the Rhine spoke very softly. They were going in to make matters better. Their success would be so great that unoc-



(Keystone)

French cavalry entering Essen during the military operations which placed the Ruhr district under French control

cupied Germany would soon welcome them.

HOW THE RUHR WAS OCCUPIED

The French and Belgian troops marched into the Ruhr on Jan. 11. The French Commander-in-Chief issued a proclamation saying that the two Governments had decided to send into the Ruhr, in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, a central commission consisting of engineers to see that Germany fulfilled the obligations she had contracted. Military or political occupation was disavowed and the object of the French Government pronounced purely pacific.

At first it was contended that occupation would be confined for a time to the Rhine province (Essen), but within a few days it was extended eastward to Bochum,

Dortmund and other Westphalian towns. It looked as if Münster, the capital, would be taken, and this caused considerable anxiety, as a detachment of the troops which Germany is permitted to maintain is stationed there and conflict was feared.

The Germans offered no resistance, and the only incident was the firing on a party of men singing offensive songs. One man was killed and several injured, but there was no similar trouble subsequently.

The unexpected territorial expansion was interpreted as reprisal for the action of the industrial magnates. Upon the entry of the French, the German coal operators and State distributing agencies left the Ruhr district with all their records regarding coal and its distribution. The German Government promptly notified all coal-mine owners in the Ruhr that it would no

longer pay for the mining of reparation coal. General Degoutte assembled the mine owners at Essen Jan. 13, M. Coste, President of the Allied Coal Commission, presiding. Twelve big Ruhr concerns were represented. They agreed to continue mining reparation coal if the French would pay them for the coal. To this General Degoutte's agents agreed; but when asked what kind of money was to be used in making the payments, the French officials replied that that was their business, whereupon the mine owners left the meeting. It was generally understood that the French scheme for paying for the coal was as follows: The French Government was to issue bonds and force the German Government in some way to guarantee them, and on these bonds the cities of the Ruhr were to be forced to issue paper money. This money was then to be used to pay the miners and to pay for the coal; the money, of course, would be practically worthless.

On their return to their offices from the meeting the German operators received orders from their Government not to deliver any more coal to the French and Belgian authorities even though it were paid for. The comment of one German newspaper on this meeting was that France and Belgium had not sent their troops into the industrial heart of Germany only for the purpose of buying coal.

Another meeting was called by the French authorities on Jan. 15, at which the mine owners flatly refused to comply with General Degoutte's order to continue the delivery of reparation coal, stating that they were Germans and were going to obey the orders of their Government. As a result of this refusal six of the largest coal producers in the Ruhr were arrested and sent to French headquarters at Mayence for trial by court-martial. Following this, all workers in the mines owned by the men arrested went on strike by way of protest, at the same time demanding the removal of French soldiers from the mines.

The High Commission, with the British High Commissioner abstaining from voting and the American representative practically withdrawn, enacted ordinances confiscating the proceeds of all mines and forests and of all customs in the occupied area. The German Government promptly

ordered all of its officials to refuse to obey orders given in execution of these ordinances. M. Tirard, the French High Commissioner, informed Prince Hatzfeld, the German Commissioner, that all officials refusing to obey allied orders would be removed and replaced by others, and Tirard added, "Then you will have your Rhineland Republic."

The German Government then issued orders to all railroad and Rhine navigation officials and employes to transport no reparation coal. This order, if obeyed, will result in the militarization of all railroads in the occupied territory, including the Ruhr. Statistics were given by the newspapers, which were much concerned with the traffic problem, showing that normally there are 50,000 coal cars in the Ruhr district, and that daily some 20,000 loaded cars go out and a like number of empties return. It was reported that the number of cars in the basin had been reduced since occupation to 25,000, or only half the usual number, and seizure of these would give the French only enough cars to move one day's traffic. With storage facilities at the pit heads closely limited, the prospects were that congestion would make necessary the closing of the mines unless some solution of the transportation problem could be found.

EFFECT OF THE OCCUPATION

Under these conditions it seems impossible, unless the Germans back down, which there is no sign of their doing at present, to hope for anything but a declaration of martial law in the occupied territory and the Ruhr in the near future. This would remove legal complications as to treaty limitations of power and enable all operations to be co-ordinated under one military authority, but it would not guarantee effective operation of the railroads, mines, customs or anything else, and the resistance and hostile attitude of the German people would force France to take over and attempt to operate the very complex machinery of the economic and industrial life of the highly organized business and manufacturing centre of the Ruhr. This would, of course, take an enormous and highly trained personnel familiar with all the business operations in the Ruhr, and this France does not have. Even if

the employes and miners stayed at their jobs, France would face a difficult task in attempting to control and operate these industries.

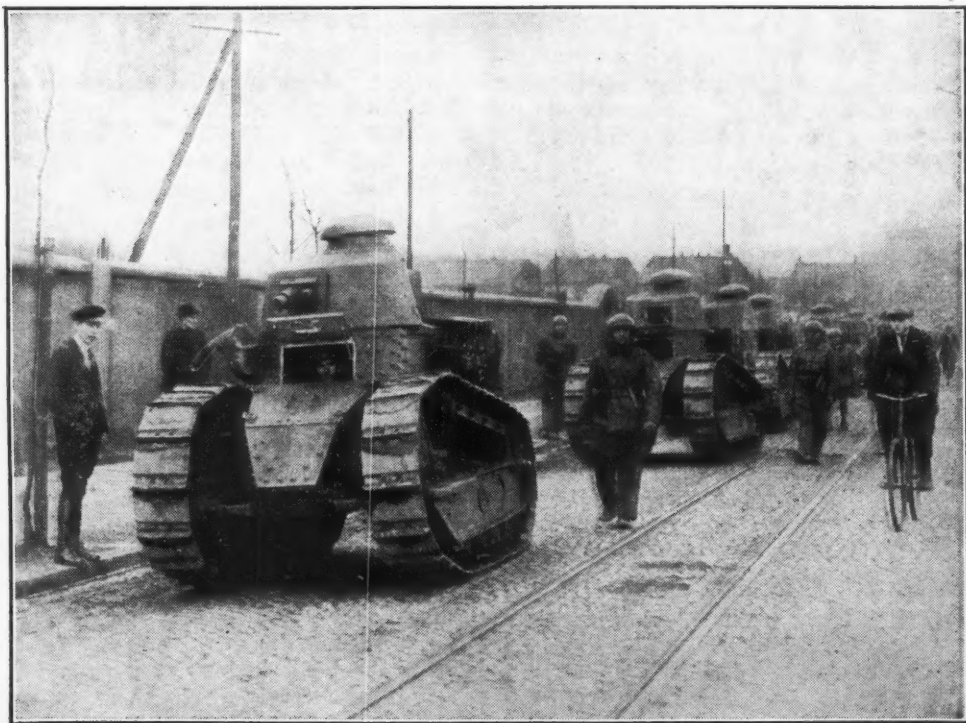
Without entering into the realm of prophecy, we know that when two nations engage in war of any duration, one side at least and generally both emerge the weaker. The victor generally attempts to recoup his losses at the expense of the vanquished, but when, as in this case, the losing side is already greatly in debt to the conquerors, who are depending on the payment of that debt to save their own financial structure, it is certain that both sides will lose. So it seems safe to say that when the Germans do give in they will be weaker by the loss of their richest district, the Ruhr, with all its valuable properties, and perhaps also the Rhineland, which the French have so long wanted to separate from Germany; they will also have lost the proceeds from the customs, mines and forests in the occupied territory and the Ruhr, and will consequently be far less able to make any substantial payments on reparation accounts, even if given a moratorium. This in turn will

weaken France and be reflected in her budget, which is undoubtedly in a critical state.

There is one thing, however, that is bringing comfort to French hearts, and that is the realization of their hope of getting Germany in their power by the occupation of the Ruhr. The French probably intend to stay in the Ruhr a long time, and it seems certain that their presence there will bring about another war as soon as the ever-increasing German people find themselves able to arise and drive the French out.

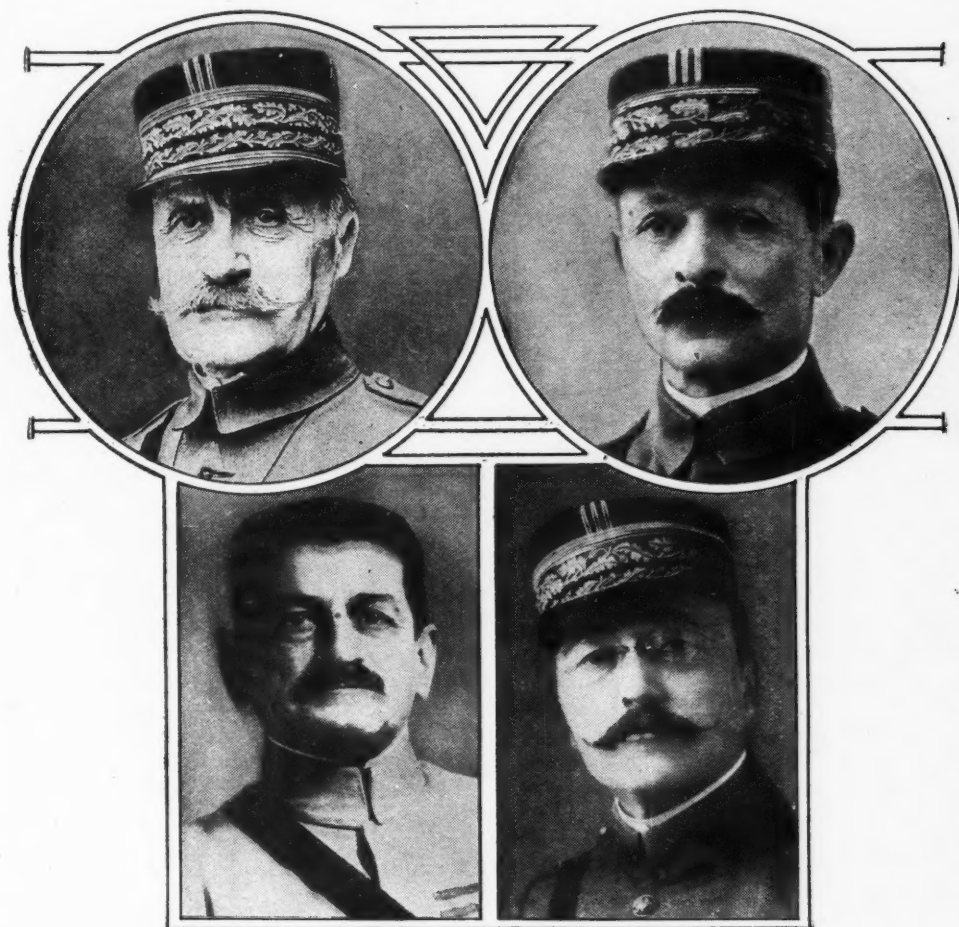
There can be no peace in Europe under these conditions. What the effect will be on the United States and our trade is difficult to tell, but it seems that we will have to get along without a European market for some time to come. England is more immediately affected by this chaotic condition than the United States, although for the present her unemployment situation is much improved, owing to the enormous demands made on her through orders for coal from Germany and even from France.

Probably the Germans, both miners and



French tanks passing through Gladbach, one of the towns in the Ruhr district

FRENCH ARMY CHIEFS



(Underwood)

(P. & A.)

With the occupation of the Ruhr, the French military leaders have resumed their activities, though this time they are not actually waging war. Above, at left, Marshal Foch, who planned the military operations for the seizure of the Ruhr; above, at right, General Weygand, Foch's right-hand man; below, at left, General Mangin; below at right, General Degoutte, commander of the French forces in the occupied area

operators, will be compelled to yield in the end. The miners' unions have no reserve funds, and the miners on strike must soon go hungry and may resort to riots and serious disorders; but they will ultimately be compelled to yield.

An interesting insight into the attitude of at least some of the Germans was afforded following the arrest of the six large coal producers and the workers' strike. The Soviet Government's protest against

the Ruhr occupation was laid before a member of Major General Allen's staff by one of the German Commissioner's deputies. After reading this sentence from the Russian communication—"In this fateful day the Russia of the workers and peasants raises its voice again in passionate protest against the insane policy of imperialistic France and its allies"—the deputy asked, "If no powerful Western Government will help us, is it not clear that we

shall be thrown into the arms of the East?" The *Kölnische Zeitung* had published this protest, it was pointed out, and it was explained that this newspaper has a reputation for conservatism and for the manner in which it reflects governmental opinion.

The deputy was asked if Germany was trying to frighten France with Bolshevism. He was reminded that such a movement could not succeed unless the nation became really Bolshevized, which would be its ruin. The deputy's reply was to the effect that Germany's ruin would involve also the ruin of France, and that his fellow-countrymen were rapidly coming to the desperate conclusion that to bring about the destruction of their old enemy they would be willing to submit to their own.

THE BATTLE OF WILLS

At this writing (the day after the Stars and Stripes on Fort Ehrenbreitstein were lowered) it appears that the French are moving swiftly to consolidate their position in the Rhineland. German officials are being deported wholesale. German officials, in turn, are refusing to obey any orders except from the German Government. There are thus all the makings of conflict, and it will probably come in much more serious form than was anticipated when the Ruhr advance started.

There is almost universal discouragement among the Germans. The withdrawal of the Americans from the capital of the Rhine province removed almost the last hope of escaping heavy penalties and long suffering. With diminution in the stake, however, there appears to be more general determination among Germans to resist to the last. The French preserve their usual sang-froid, and the well-oiled military machine runs smoothly.

Americans here did not want to see France go into the Ruhr. They counseled strongly against it, as they were unable to share the optimistic belief of Frenchmen, on the High Commission and elsewhere, that the Germans would submit once the show of force was made, and would calmly carry on their economic and industrial life under French supervision, which would guarantee that France would get her full measure of reparations coal and also the proceeds of such other governmental agencies, as customs, forests, coal tax, and so forth, that she might decide to take over. On the contrary, it was believed that the Germans would resist a French invasion of the Ruhr with all means in their power, and would do everything possible to handicap and embarrass the French and complicate the situation. This is just what has happened, only the resistance has gone further than anticipated and is actively supported and directed from Berlin.

EXTENSION OF THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

DURING the month which has elapsed since the French began to occupy the Ruhr for the purpose of enforcing the payment of reparations by Germany, an unprecedented struggle has developed in which the threat of military force has been met by industrial dislocation, civilian obstruction and passive resistance. The economic life of the great wealth-producing region has been brought closer to the verge of paralysis. While the French have cut off the coal supply from the Ruhr to the rest of Germany, they have themselves not been able to obtain any appreciable amount of coal and coke for their own account. This has been due to the disorganization of the rail-

roads and to the general policy of the Germans to thwart by every possible means the purposes for which the French originally invaded German territory. One of the most important consequences of the situation thus produced has been the extension of the occupied area backed up by more drastic measures to compel German submission.

In this bloodless war an important part has been played by the organized workers. Strikes by miners and railroad men and the refusal of employes in the public service to take orders from the French military authorities have contributed largely to the deadlock which the invasion has brought about. Even more serious

as an indication of the temper of the working class has been the spread of strikes in districts outside the Ruhr. Thus, 25,000 miners in the Moselle district in Lorraine stopped work on Feb. 8 on the plea of a dispute over wages. This strike, following that of 360,000 miners in the Sarre Basin, who went on strike two days previously, put into idleness mines which produced 40 per cent. of the French coal supply. While Socialist and Communist propaganda has in a measure exerted its influence on the German workers, the general policy of passive resistance was dictated by the German Government and the German industrial magnates, as shown in the order issued in Berlin officially prohibiting employes of both the Federal and the Prussian Governments from obeying instructions given by the French contrary to the wishes and interests of the German Government.

The French retaliated by arresting, imprisoning and deporting disobedient and recalcitrant German capitalists, managers and officials. Thus, Fritz Thyssen and five other coal magnates were arrested on Jan. 20 and sent to Mayence for trial by a military court because they refused to carry out orders to deliver coal to the French. The trial, which took place on Jan. 24, resulted in the six coal owners being fined 307,206 francs in the aggregate. An important feature of the case was the brief of Dr. Friedrich Grimm, counsel for the defense, who argued that the seizure of property by the French was illegal. His brief, the text of which is printed elsewhere in this magazine, is a notable document in the controversy between France and Germany. Pending the trial of the German mine directors, they were kept in prison by the French authorities. As a protest against such treatment of Fritz Thyssen, 75,000 men and women employed in nine Thyssen coal mines and steel plants throughout the Ruhr area went on strike. The stoppage of work lasted two hours and was accompanied by violent manifestations in the streets of Düsseldorf. This caused the French to station tanks at strategic points throughout the city, place machine guns in positions to command the public squares, and patrol the streets with infantry and cavalry.

At this time the disposition of the

French and Belgian military forces was as follows: The 32d French Army Corps, composed of three divisions of infantry, commanded by General Caron, was established in the northern part of the Ruhr, covering Dortmund and Recklinghausen; the 33d Corps, under General Henrys, with similar effectives, surrounded Essen and Bochum; two divisions of cavalry were quartered around Horneburg and Ratingen, ready to move in case of trouble; and a Belgian division was stationed along the River Lippe from Wessel to Dorsten. Altogether 100,000 armed men were now in the Ruhr district to impose the will of France and Belgium on a population of 3,500,000, many of whom still retained their weapons, and all of whom had the moral and financial support of the whole of Germany to the east and the friendly and effective help of 7,000,000 in the occupied territory on the left bank of the Rhine. The French military operations were according to the plan prepared by Marshal Foch and carried out by General Degoutte, who had his headquarters at Düsseldorf.

Economic control of the Ruhr district was, however, the chief object of the occupation. For this reason the French seized the customs and concentrated their efforts on the production and transportation of coal. Finally, the whole region was isolated from the rest of Germany. The German authorities endeavored to nullify these measures by calling on the railroad men to strike. This immediately affected coal production, the more so as the Germans had withdrawn most of the empty coal cars from the district. Even when, on Feb. 2, the German authorities instructed the railway men to resume work on all lines where they would not come into contact with French soldiers and the postal and telegraphic services were restored, there was no improvement in the situation, for the production of coal had completely ceased. The Ruhr had become a tangled mass of stalled coal trains. More than 20,000 loaded cars were ready to move, but there were no engines to haul them. At every exit from the Ruhr coal trains were stalled right up against the French control posts and behind them long lines of more trains which were not stopped in time. Every switching and

shipping point and all the mines were blocked in the same way.

Dr. Cuno, the German Chancellor, on returning to Berlin after a two days' tour of the occupied area, said that he was convinced that the determination of the people to resist the French coercive measures was just as firm as when the first of the occupying forces entered Essen on Jan. 11. "I visited every section of the invaded territory," he added, "conversed freely with the industrialists and all classes of civilians and workers, and was everywhere assured of their unwavering resolve further to oppose the French encroachment with passive resistance."

TRANSPORTATION DISORGANIZED

A French account of the situation that had developed was given by M. le Trocquer, Minister of Public Works, who also visited the Ruhr. "The question of transports," he said on his return to Paris on Feb. 7, "is now the capital point of the occupation. On the order of the Reich,

transportation has been put into a condition of complete and methodic disorganization by criminal sabotage. By Government order signal lights have been put out, lanterns taken away and switches disarranged. These acts have been committed on lines on which international expresses run. Nevertheless, all convoys necessary for the existence of the troops of occupation and the movement of international trains have been assured. That is the first step. We shall soon pass to the second, namely, the methodic organization of the transport of coal and coke to the allied countries."

At this writing (Feb. 10) virtually no coal was being brought out of the mines. The French were devoting much of their energies to organizing shipments of coal by rail and river from the Ruhr area to France. They were making little progress, the shipments averaging under 5,000 tons of coal and coke daily. The railroad strike was still completely effective throughout the entire French zone, but a certain amount of transportation was being carried on by barges. The food situation among the German population was growing worse, necessitating proposals for restrictions. Although a considerable amount of agitation was going on and there were demonstrations, such as that at Recklinghausen, which the French had to deal with, on the whole there was very little disorder.

AMERICAN TROOPS WITHDRAWN

In accordance with the President's decision to withdraw the American troops on the Rhine, the American flag, which had been flying over the fortress Ehrenbreitstein since December, 1918, was lowered on Jan. 24, whereupon the occupied territory was taken over by the French. The last of the American troops sailed from Antwerp for home in the St. Mihiel on Jan. 25, and the commander, Major Gen. Henry T. Allen, discontinued his relations as unofficial observer with the Interallied Rhineland High Commission. On Feb. 7 the St. Mihiel reached Savannah, Ga., there disembarking the last of the American troops that had been sent to Europe.



(P. & A.)

HERR WALDHECKER

One of the leaders of the German mine workers who have been largely responsible for preventing the French from obtaining coal from the Ruhr mines

PERMANENT OCCUPATION DISAVOWED

M. POINCARE, speaking to the American correspondents in Paris on Jan. 29, made the following important statement:

France has no intention of holding the Ruhr permanently. She means to stay there until she is paid, or has assurances that she will be paid. It is evident that France will not be satisfied with bare German promises. She awaits, and will await, sufficient guarantees by the German Government.

The idea that France seeks to keep the Ruhr is absurd; nothing is further from our thoughts. But we intend to hold the mining and industrial basin until Germany fulfills its agreement. After the 1870 war the Prussians maintained a garrison in France until the last centime of indemnity had been paid. It may be a matter of five years before Germany gives sufficient proofs of its sincerity of paying reparations, and may be considerably less if the German Government reorganizes its financial system on a sound basis and obtains a foreign loan, which would be applied on the reconstruction of the devastated regions of France. But France is unanimously determined not to abandon its guarantees in the Ruhr until then.

Paralyzing the mining industry in the Ruhr may inflict hardships on France as well as Germany, but Germany is the greatest loser and France will show the endurance necessary to outwit the German Government.

It is reported that a number of Lorraine blast furnaces have been closed down for lack of coal from the Ruhr. This is true, and the French metallurgy is ready to suspend all operations, if necessary, to prove to the Germans that we are earnest and intend to pursue our policy even if we suffer also.

Propaganda asserts that France is spending huge sums on the military operation of the Ruhr. This is entirely false, as we have not mobilized a single soldier and the troops used were already with the colors. The cost of maintaining the force in the Ruhr is slightly more than in France, owing to the transportation of food and supplies, but to an unappreciable amount. We are prepared now to set in operation the customs control barrier around the Ruhr, preventing shipment of all coal and coke to Germany, diverting a certain proportion to France, Belgium and Italy. Until now we had seized only a little fuel in the Ruhr, but henceforth we intend to take a reasonable percentage. If the miners strike Germany's deliveries will be cut off.

France does not intend to attempt to exploit the Ruhr mines and factories. The employees are free to work or strike as they wish, but they will be the hardest hit and Germany will be chiefly affected if the Ruhr is paralyzed by strikes.

We are ready to insure the operation of railway trains, haul coal and transport troops, foodstuffs and civilians traveling also, but we will not attempt to operate a normal service. We have assembled 300 army railway men to operate the trains, which is sufficient for our needs.

The French Government regards the European situation with grave misgivings, especially the "black spots" in Turkey and Memel. It is feared that the Kemalists may seize Mosul, provoking British reprisals such as a blockade on Turkey by closing the Straits, and the menace of the Germans and Poles clashing over the possession of Memel is threatening.

The sale of English coal to Germany will not elicit a French protest, as the transactions are between individuals and private concerns, and not with the British Government.

NO RUHR COAL FOR GERMANY

THE decision of the French Government to stop the delivery of coal and coke from the occupied zone to the rest of Germany was announced on Jan. 31 in the following note from Premier Poincaré to the German Chargé d'Affaires in Paris:

By letter of Jan. 17 the Minister of Foreign Affairs had the honor to recall to the German Chargé d'Affaires that the measures taken by the French Government and the Belgian Government, with the co-operation of the Italian Government, to compel Germany to deliver the coal she owed France, did not have the character of a military operation. These measures, as the German Government was notified on Jan. 10, were taken because of the default decided by the Reparation Commission and com-

mitted by Germany in execution of the program of the Commission on Reparation concerning deliveries of timber and coal to France.

However, as was indicated in the letter of Jan. 17, the attitude adopted by the industrialists of the Ruhr on instructions of the Government of the Reich made it impossible for the allied authorities to proceed in an amicable manner and put on them the obligation to requisition coal which ought to be delivered and effect deroutements in the measure necessary.

The German Government in effect began by declaring to the proprietors of the mines that coal delivered by them for reparations would not be paid for by the Government. The chief of the Engineers' Commission made it known that the allied Governments were disposed to pay directly for coal. The German Government

then forbade the proprietors to make deliveries, even under force.

Since then the obstruction of the German Government has steadily increased. The Reparation Commission had to declare on Jan. 16 defaults concerning coal and cattle, both for reparations and restitution. It was obligated to notify on Jan. 26 to the German Government the general default of Germany in her obligations toward France and Belgium.

Finally, the German Government, by instructions which it has given, by excitations it has fomented among the railroad officials and em-

ployes of the posts, telephones and telegraphs, not only in the Ruhr, but on the left bank of the Rhine, threatens to bring disorganization to the exploitation of mines and factories of the Ruhr.

In these conditions, considering the general default declared by the Reparation Commission, the French Government, acting by virtue of Paragraph 18, Annex 2, Part VIII., of the treaty of peace, informs the German Government that from Feb. 1 no delivery of coal or coke will any longer take place from the occupied zone to the rest of Germany. This action is taken under the reserve of new sanctions in case of necessity.

WHY THE BELGIANS ARE IN THE RUHR

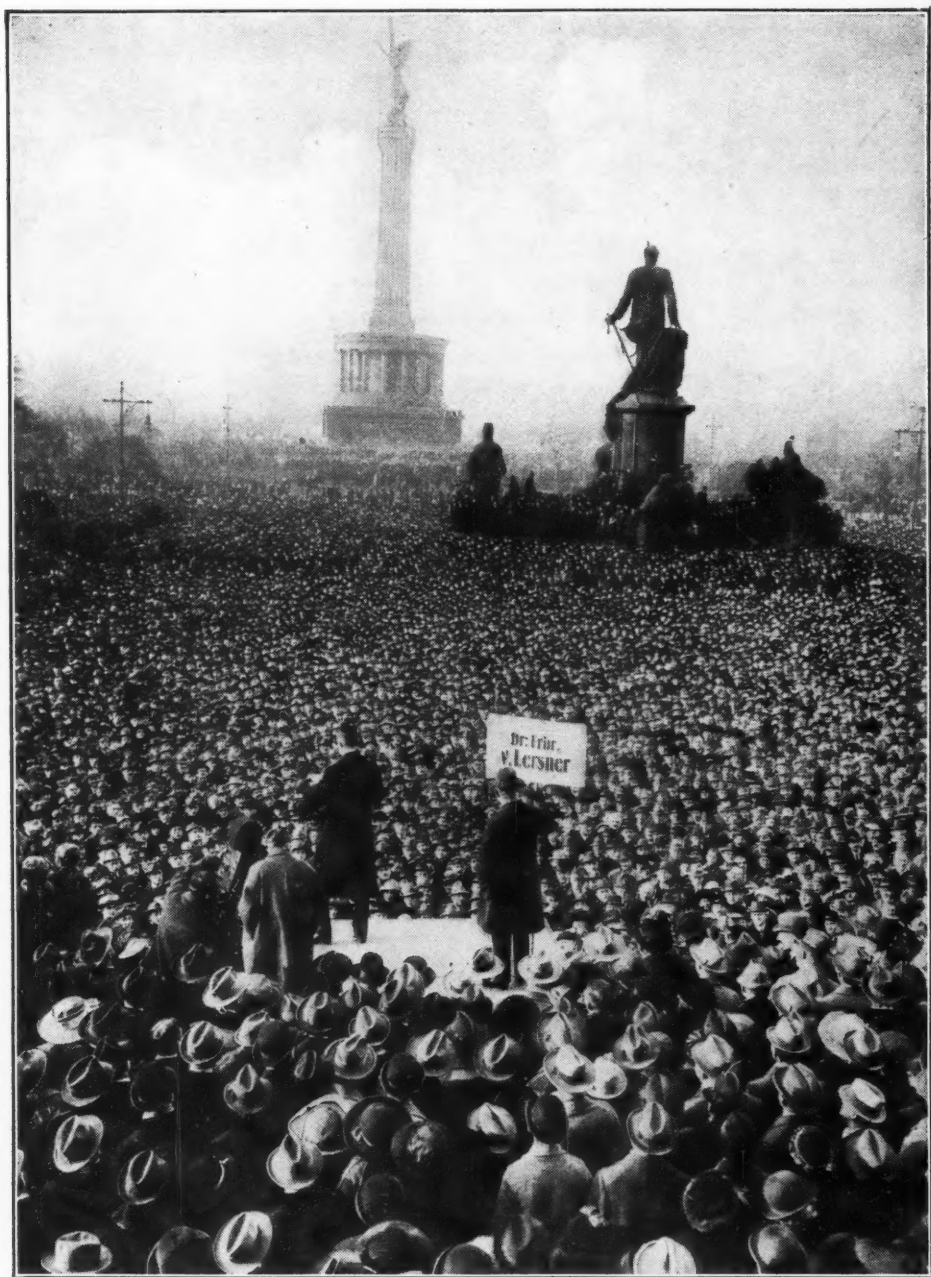
THE action of the Belgian Government in deciding to join France in the occupation of the Ruhr seems to be generally approved by public opinion in Belgium. Even the Labor and Socialist leaders admit that the occupation is justified on legal grounds, their opposition being based on the ground that force will not produce the desired results.

When the question of a moratorium to Germany came up last Summer, Belgium agreed to accept German Treasury notes in lieu of cash for the reparation payments due her for the remainder of the year 1922. When the question of a moratorium again arose at the end of 1922, Great Britain put forward a plan which provided for a large reduction of the total reparation payment to be made by Germany, and included provision for the cancellation of certain interallied debts, but provided no effective guarantee for fulfillment on Germany's part. France submitted a plan for a partial cancellation of interallied debts and a moratorium, on condition that Germany should give some substantial guarantee. In view of Great Britain's objection to the occupation of the Ruhr, France proposed to take over only certain economic guarantees. As the British Government refused to demand such guarantees and as France declined to grant a moratorium without them, a deadlock ensued and Belgium adopted the French plan. On Jan. 9, 1923, the Belgian Prime Minister, M. Theunis, made a speech before the Chamber of Deputies, in which he outlined the Belgian Government's reasons for this decision.

In accordance with the decision of the Reparation Commission, on April 27, 1921, the total amount of reparations to be paid by Germany was tentatively fixed at 132,000,000,000 gold marks, of which amount Belgium was to receive 8 per cent., that is, 10,560,000,000 gold marks (equivalent to approximately \$2,508,000,000). Up to Jan. 1, 1923, Belgium had received only about 10 per cent. of the amount due, namely, about 1,500,000,000 gold marks (equivalent to approximately \$356,250,000). Under the proposed British plan, Belgium's total reparations from Germany, including what she has already received, would have been reduced to less than 10,000,000,000 Belgian francs (paper) — less than \$800,000,000 — or, in other words less than one-third of the amount originally awarded to Belgium.

M. Theunis in his speech pointed out that Belgium had already spent, in restoring devastated property, about seventeen or eighteen billion francs and would have to spend ten or twelve billion francs more before the work was completed. In addition, Belgium had paid out 7,000,000,000 francs to redeem German marks which had been forced on the inhabitants at par value during the German occupation of Belgium. No provision was made for this in the Treaty of Versailles, nor for forced loans upon Belgians which the Germans had levied, amounting to about 3,000,000,000 francs. Assuming that, even under the most favorable circumstances under the British plan, Belgium received 10,000,000,000 paper francs, this amount would only be sufficient to wipe

GERMAN PROTEST AGAINST THE RUHR INVASION



The scene in the Koenigsplatz, Berlin, when one of the largest gatherings seen in the German capital since the revolution of 1918 took place the day following the French entry into the Ruhr. The great crowd listened with intense emotion to the fiery protests against the invasion. The statue is that of Bismarck, while in the background the Monument of Victory can be seen

out these two last mentioned items, leaving Belgium to bear the whole expense of approximately 30,000,000,000 paper francs required for the restoration of the devastated districts. The British plan not only provided no guarantee of fulfillment, but, even if faithfully carried out, would mean the ruin of Belgium.

After referring to Germany's lack of good faith and desire to avoid meeting her obligations, M. Theunis pointed out the numerous defaults in deliveries of coal, timber and other commodities. In matters of finance, also, Germany had shown the same lack of good-will. In 1922 Germany undertook to effect a forced internal loan. This loan, at the rates then prevailing, should have produced the equivalent of about 666,000,000 gold marks last year. But the enforcement of the

loan was carried out so slowly and inefficiently that only about one-tenth of that amount had been realized. Furthermore, Germany had permitted delay and evasion in the payment of taxes by some of the large German enterprises, had contributed to lower the value of her own currency and to destroy her own credit, and had paid 31,000,000,000 paper marks to certain shipowners without authorization of the Reichstag and without giving notice to the Allies. In these circumstances Belgium felt that she could not depend upon Germany's good-will to perform her contracts. The French plan provided certain economic guarantees and economic pressure which might induce Germany to pay within the limits of her resources. Belgium had therefore joined France in entering the Ruhr simply as an unavoidable step to recover her just dues.



(International)

The American flag being lowered from the Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein during the ceremonies when the United States troops evacuated the Rhine

REPARATIONS VITAL TO FRENCH EXISTENCE

President Barthou of the Reparation Commission explains the necessity of making Germany pay her debts under the Treaty of Versailles

FRENCH rights and German obligations were the subject of an address which Louis Barthou, President of the Reparation Commission, delivered in Paris on Jan. 19. After declaring that Germany had no intention of meeting her obligations, he went on to cite the principal cases in which she showed her lack of good faith.

"At San Remo in 1920 and in London a year later," M. Barthou said, "the Allies had to recognize the insolvency of Germany. In May, 1921, however, they decided to occupy Ruhrort, Duisburg and Duesseldorf. This time Germany yielded, for all she understands is deeds. Chancellor Wirth undertook to execute without conditions or reservations the obligations fixed by the Reparation Commission and to set about disarmament and dealing with the war criminals. But in what way has he carried out his undertaking? Wilhelm II. was to have been brought to trial. Holland, however, refused to hand over the ex-Kaiser to the Allies 'in the name of international law,' without at the same time having a single word of condemnation to say about the crimes which he himself has committed against international law."

M. Barthou then went on to discuss the conference of allied Prime Ministers in Paris in the first days of January:

"At the last Paris conference France recovered her rights. Those who thought that the replacement of Mr. Lloyd George by Mr. Bonar Law would result in modifying British policy were under an illusion. Yet you must not suppose that either Great Britain or its Government is pro-German. That would be an injustice, almost a blasphemy. We must not forget that to fight at our side England imposed upon herself compulsory military service in opposition to all her traditions. Though transitory differences separate us, the time must come again when the two countries will march

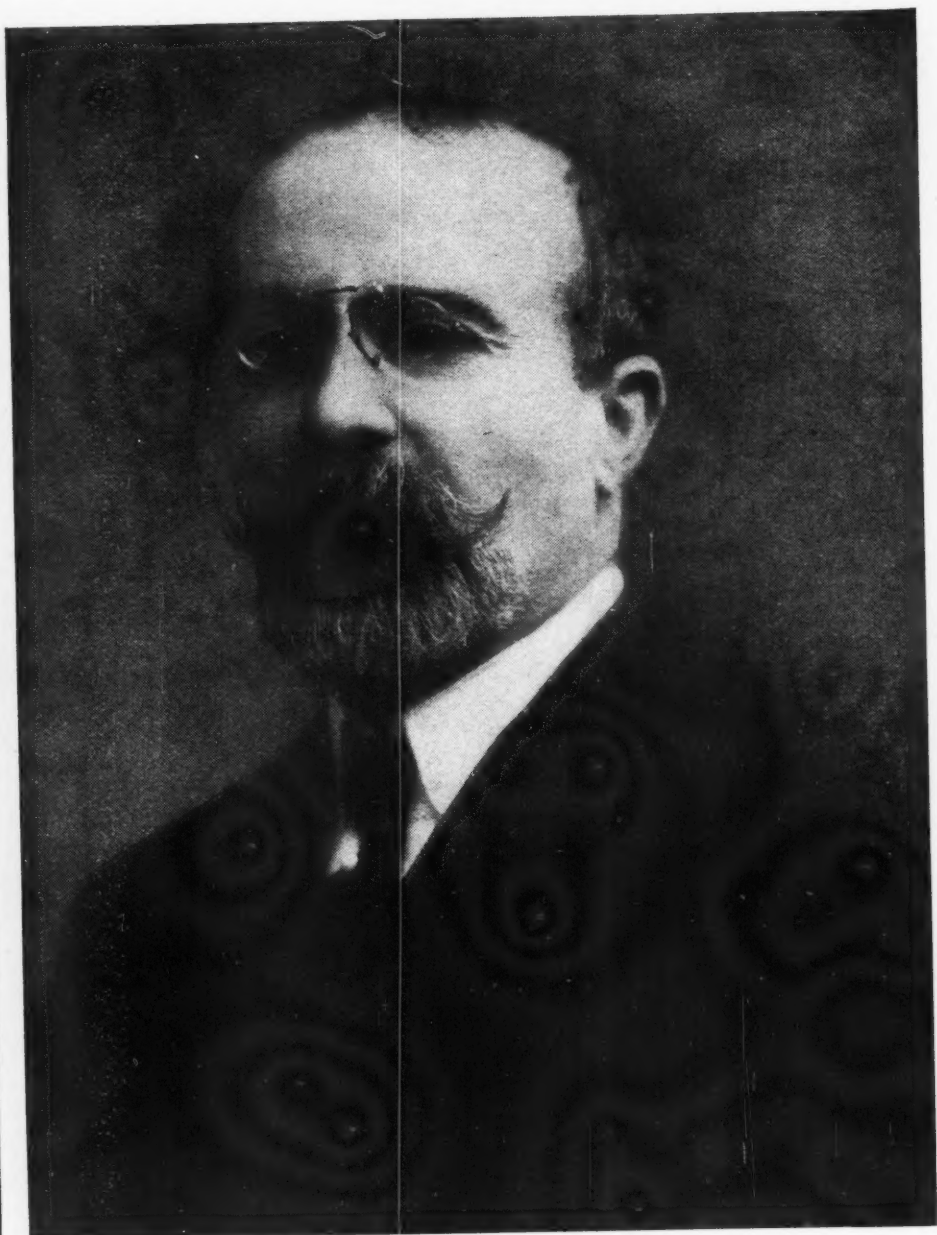
together along the same road. The friendly and loyal attitude of the British Prime Minister, who in no way is interfering with our action in the Ruhr, ought to inspire us with every confidence.

"M. Poincaré, however, was unable to agree to the British plan which asked for Germany what Germany herself did not dare to ask from the Reparation Commission, namely, a four-year moratorium without the smallest payment in kind, the reduction of the German indemnity to 20,000,000,000 gold marks, the substitution of a financial committee for the Reparation Commission, with the provision that in case of the votes being equal the casting vote should be in the hands of the German Minister of Finances, who was to have been Chairman of the committee and would have put France in a minority. It was entirely impossible to accept that plan. In his courteous, but firm refusal, M. Poincaré did not want France to part from Great Britain on the road which the two countries had followed since 1914, but he was the true interpreter of the national conscience, and the prolonged and unanimous applause which sanctioned his judgment will remain its ratification by the French people."

After referring to the defaults established by the Reparation Commission, M. Barthou said that, in spite of the German protest against the measures adopted by the Allies, those measures had an incontestably legal basis:

"Because soldiers protect the technical mission, engineers and customs agents, those who with appalling cynicism violated the neutrality of Belgium now seek to shelter themselves behind their national sovereignty. But the German sophistries and agitation will defeat their object. They will not divert us from executing with inflexible moderation a plan which has been thought out and which has taken into con-

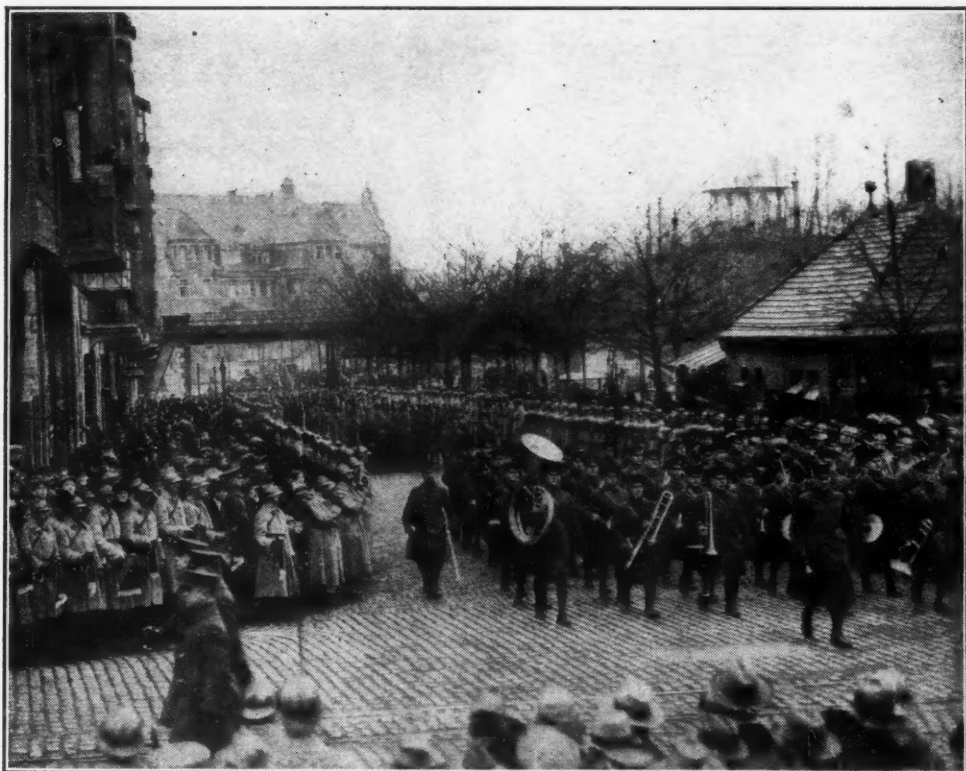
LOUIS BARTHOU



President of the Reparation Commission and a former Prime Minister of France

sideration all possible consequences. We will not yield; it is Germany that must give way. She has exhausted our patience. Three years of delay and temporizing, of discussions and concessions are enough for France. But France will not put into operation the policy of iron with which in 1873 she was threatened by Bismarck, surprised by and anxious about the way she paid the indemnity exacted by Germany. Bismarck made that threat, not in virtue of the Treaty of Frankfort, but in the name of what he called 'the direct consequences of the peace.' He had already said that in the same way as the caterpillars devour a tree leaf by leaf until it perishes, so, if the war indemnity were not paid as it fell due, he would devour France department by department. We seek

neither Germany's death nor her ruin. But we do say that if France is to live, she must be paid. Even though the bailiff has been slow in coming on the scene, why be astonished that he is inexorable when he arrives? We are not relying upon the direct consequences of the peace, as did Bismarck, but are simply exacting the performance of a treaty, drawn up in due and proper form and registered with the signature of Germany. We are doing nothing more than insist upon the direct consequences of a war premediated, prepared and provoked by Germany. Already the victory is far too much mutilated. The treaty has not given us what we wanted. Let us, then, demand what the treaty does give us, sure and strong in our rights, just in the use of our power."



(Underwood)

United States troops marching through the streets of Coblenz on their way to the station after they had been withdrawn from the Rhine and the occupied territory had been handed over to the French. The American flag was finally hauled down on Jan. 24, 1923

GERMAN LEGAL ARGUMENT AGAINST RUHR SEIZURES

Text of legal brief presented by Dr. Friedrich Grimm in defense of the Ruhr coal magnates, whose trial for refusing to obey the French occupation authorities took place at Mayence, Germany, on Jan. 24, 1923

THE trial of Fritz Thyssen and the five other industrial magnates of the Ruhr arrested by the French military authorities in the Ruhr, after their refusal to obey the French orders to continue production for France's benefit, was opened on Jan. 24. Dr. Friedrich Grimm, an Essen lawyer, who had been retained by the Ruhr mine owners to conduct their defense, presented a brief to the French court, pleading lack of jurisdiction and incompetence of the court and asking that the case be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. Dr. Grimm's fundamental argument rested on the view that private property, such as coal, cannot legally be seized for a public debt without indemnity to the owners. The French occupation of the Ruhr, he contended, was illegal and the defendants were justified in refusing to obey an order that was ipso facto illegal—an order, furthermore, given by a foreign Government. No legal justification for the occupation, he declared, could be found in any armistice or other convention, or in the Rhineland convention setting up civil government under the Versailles Treaty, or even in French law. American lawyers who saw Dr. Grimm's brief stated their belief that the case would furnish an important precedent in international law by deciding whether an occupying force has the right to requisition products other than those required for the use of the occupying forces. The French argument rested on the articles of the Versailles Treaty authorizing the Allies to take measures to enforce execution of the treaty, which measures Germany bound herself not to consider as acts of war. The text of Dr. Grimm's brief was as follows:

CONCERNING the occupation of the Basin of the Ruhr, two legal questions stand out prominently as regards mining enterprises, namely:

1. REQUISITION OF PRODUCTS—Have the institutions organized by the occupying nations the right to possess themselves by force, either of the mines, the coal or other combustible products, to confiscate them or to direct toward France the carloads of coal destined for Germany?

2. REQUISITION OF PERSONS AND PERSONAL SERVICES—Have the occupying organizations the right to constrain the representatives of the coal mines or other German citizens to assist in operations of any nature whatever leading to the trans-

portation of the combustibles to France against the will of the German Government? Especially are the occupying organizations authorized to enjoin upon the proprietors of mines or other German citizens against the instructions given by the German Government to resume deliveries on account of reparations, and in case there is a refusal to obey orders of this nature, have they the right to undertake judicial proceedings individually against the German citizens or to use force in order to bring about the execution of such orders by the Germans?

The two questions ought to be examined under the law of nations actually in force, under the armistice agreement, under the Treaty of Versailles, under the Rhineland convention and

complementary ordinances, and finally under the French legislation.

1. REQUISITION OF PRODUCTS

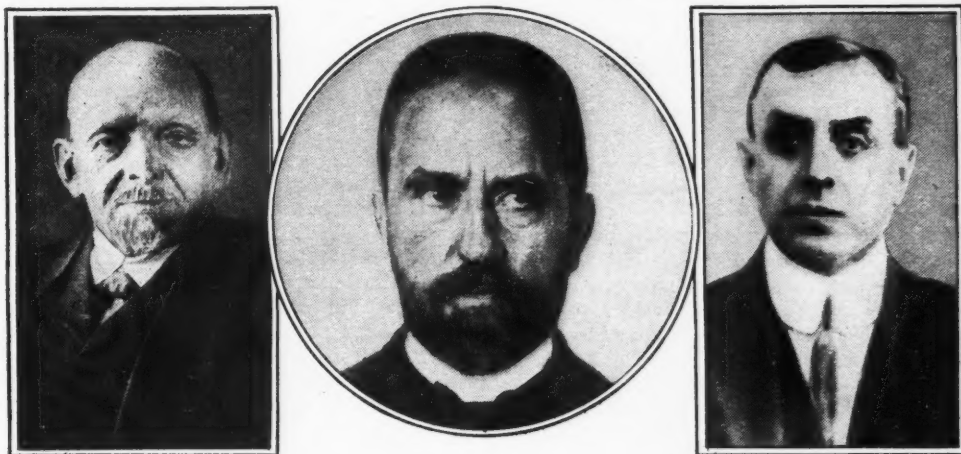
All combustibles extracted from the mines, whether in the raw or prepared state, become under private law (and this applies to German legislation as to French) the private property of the mining enterprise which has brought about its extraction. Most certainly are the coal mines themselves private property. This state of things is not in any manner invalidated by the existence of the coal syndicate. This constitutes neither more nor less than an organization for traffic in coal, the distribution of products and the regula-

measures designated under Question 1 would constitute an attack upon private German property. It would then remain to examine the question whether this attack on private German property is admissible or not from a legal point of view.

(a) International Law Actually in Force

The inviolability of private property is universally recognized as a principle of the law of nations. This was true even before the formulation of special laws through international conventions. In the two Hague conventions (concerning the laws and usages of war upon land) of July 29, 1899 (R. G. B1, 1901, p. 423), and Oct. 18, 1907 (R. G. B1, 1910, p. 107),

GERMAN INDUSTRIAL MAGNATES



(International)

At left: August Thyssen, head of one of the world's greatest coal, iron and steel enterprises; centre: Hugo Stinnes, the dominating personality of present-day finance and industry in Germany; at right: Fritz Thyssen, son of August Thyssen and one of Germany's popular heroes since his refusal to deliver coal to the French

tion of sales. Membership in the coal syndicate involves certain obligations, leaving intact the ownership of the mines, at least up to the time when the ownership was transferred by its original possessor, which may be a mining organization, to a third person or eventually to the syndicate. The dissolution of the coal syndicate has brought still more into prominence the character of different combustibles as property purely private. The different coal organizations have again become not only the sole proprietors of the combustibles mined, but also the only ones authorized to dispose of them at their own will up to the time when it shall suit them to make other arrangements in regard to them or to transfer the property to third parties.

As a consequence, it is indubitable that for the occupying French and Belgians to proceed to

it has been specified in just what points occupying forces are able in certain cases to depart from this principle and attach private property. France and Belgium did not sign the second Hague convention of Oct. 18, 1907. In consequence the relations between Germany, on the one hand, and France and Belgium, on the other, are regulated, as it is expressly stipulated by Article IV., Paragraph 2, of the second convention, by the terms of the preceding convention, that of July 29, 1899. In any event, this has no importance, since the stipulations of the two laws in question agree among themselves in all essentials.

The inviolability of private property is guaranteed by the aforesaid convention of July 29, 1899, by the following provisions:

(aa) First, Section II. (hostilities), Chapter 1, (measures susceptible of injury to the enemy),

stipulates in Art. 23, Paragraph G: "Apart from prohibitions which have been made the objects of special treaties, it is especially forbidden:

(g) "To destroy or seize enemy property except in the case where these destructions or seizures shall be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war."

(bb) In Section III. (concerning military authority over the enemy State) Article 46 stipulates: "The honor and the rights of the family, the life of individuals and *private property* as well as religious convictions, and the exercises of worship must be respected. *Private property cannot be confiscated.*"

(cc) In addition Articles 52 and 53 relative to requisitions and seizures are thus expressed:

"Article 52. Requisitions in goods and service cannot be demanded of communities or individual inhabitants except *for the needs of the Army of Occupation*. They shall be in proportion to the resources of the country, and of such a nature that *they shall not involve the populations in the obligation of taking part in warlike operations against their country.*"¹

"These requisitions and these services will be demanded only with the authorization of the commander in occupied localities. Requisitions of goods shall be as far as possible paid for on the spot; if not the debt shall be acknowledged by means of receipt, and demands of the sums due shall be made as soon as possible.

"Article 53. The army which occupies a territory shall be able to take possession only of currency, funds and securities required which belong properly to the State; arsenals, means of transportation, depots and provisions and in general all property properly belonging to the State, which is of a nature to subserve warlike operations. All the appliances used on land, on sea, and in the air for the transmission of news, for the transportation of persons or things, apart from cases regulated by maritime law, magazines of arms and in general any kind of munitions of war may be seized even if they belong to private persons; but they should be paid for, and the accounts should be regulated at the conclusion of peace."

No case where by special stipulation The Hague convention grants an invasion of private property is involved in the present question:

1. It is not true (Art. 23, Par. g) that *the necessities of war (military necessity, war exigency)* justify such an encroachment. In the first place we are not at war, even though the German Ambassador has been recalled. A war implies that the two belligerent States face each other in arms, but even if this were the case it is necessary to remember that military necessity involves always *the needs of war-like operations,*

but in this case the coal will not be used for the military needs of the forces occupying the Ruhr Basin, but for reparation; that is, to provide the French population with coal, which is a *purely economic end.*

2. This same fact proves the non-existence of the second instance of justified seizure (requisition in the proper sense, Art. 52), the reparation coal not being demanded "for the needs of the Army of Occupation."

3. In addition, the applicability of Article 52 is still further nullified by the fact that "it would imply an obligation of populations to take part in warlike operations against their country."

As a matter of fact, if one wished to apply effectively Article 52, this application could be made only in the manner of an analogy. But in this analogous sense the support given to the taking by force of "reparation" coal, practiced by the occupying organizations, would be equivalent to participating in "operations of war" against the German Fatherland.

4. The term "requisition" is precisely defined in Article 52 of The Hague convention. Under these conditions a requisition from the legal point of view would be justified only when the objects taken would serve *the needs of the Army of Occupation*. But, if the French Government declares a requisition of coal because it has not been delivered, it will in this statement have employed a term which cannot properly apply to the projected measure. The seizure of coal referred to by France does not constitute a "requisition"; it is a seizure carried out by force, which one can properly qualify only as confiscation; in any case it constitutes a forcible laying of hands on private property which is outside of all shadow of right, and which can be properly qualified as illegal.

Besides, a requisition can be ordered *only by a military commander, never by a civil commission, such as that headed by Coste.*

5. No other provision of The Hague convention could justify this seizure; especially would it be impossible to include it among the objects specifically enumerated in Art. 53 (warlike armaments, means of transportation, &c.).

6. Moreover, as has been previously emphasized, the French Republic may not avail itself of The Hague regulation concerning land war, since *we are not at war*. Moreover, one would be fully justified in claiming as *a minimum of rights*, during the actual occupation of German territory in full peace, *the same guarantees for the civil population* which France and Belgium have solemnly promised to observe, even in the worst eventuality of war.

If the injured parties invoke The Hague stipulations, France will not be qualified to offer the argument: "We are not at war." "Pacific" occupation gives to the occupant rights less exten-

¹The individuality of private property is also recognized by Article 4, III.

sive rather than greater rights. This conception is moreover embodied in Article 6 of the Rhineland convention, where during the pacific occupation of the Rhenish district a certain right of requisition is expressly provided for, but only within the limits of The Hague convention.

7. A requisition from the legal point of view is possible in times of peace only when it is effected by the State which possesses sovereignty over the country where the requisition takes place. Requisitions by a foreign power exist *only in time of war*. An exception to this can be created only by an international convention between the powers interested. An exception of this nature is, for instance, contained in Article 6 of the Rhineland convention. It is only by virtue of this special convention that at this moment a requisition is admissible in such parts of the Rhenish district as come within the control of the said Rhineland convention. But *the Basin of the Ruhr is not included in this treaty*.

(b) The Armistice

The question presents itself whether existing legal conditions are subject to some modification as a result of special treaties.

Article 6 of the armistice stipulates:

"In all the territories evacuated by the enemy expulsion of the inhabitant is forbidden. No damage or prejudice shall result to the person or the property of the inhabitants. Nobody shall be prosecuted on charges of participation in war-like measures prior to the signing of the armistice. There shall be no destruction of any kind. Military installations of every nature shall be delivered intact, as also military supplies, victuals, munitions, equipments which have not been carried away during the period fixed for evacuation.

"Food depots of every kind for the civil population, animals, and so forth, shall be left in place. No general measure shall be taken or official order given having as a consequence depreciation in industrial establishments or a reduction in their personnel."

It can be seen from this that the armistice only confirms the legal situation already prevailing.

(c) The Treaty of Versailles

France deduces justification for her action:

1. From Sections 17 and 18 of Annex 2, Section VIII.

2. From Article 248 of the Versailles Treaty.

Sections 17 and 18 stipulate:

"(Section 17) In case of a failure by Germany to execute any of the obligations which devolve upon her in this part of the present treaty, the commission shall immediately announce this failure in execution to each of the powers interested, adding to the announcement any suggestions which shall appear proper re-

garding the measures to be taken by reason of this default."

"Section 18) The measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to consider as acts of hostility, may comprise prohibitory acts and economic and financial reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments shall deem necessary under the circumstances."

1. It is not a matter of importance at the moment to determine whether or not the common action of France and Belgium is justified by the terms of the Versailles Treaty. It behooves us here to note only the question of requisition of goods and of personal services.

In this connection neither the Sections 17 or 18 of Annex 2 to Section VIII. nor Article 248 of the Peace Treaty modify in any way the juridical situation already in force.

Section 17 limits itself to establishing that in case of non-execution of the obligations assumed by Germany (it is still to be determined if this case comes under that article), the commission shall instruct the powers of the default and make its suggestions.

Section 18 enumerates the special measures which the allied and associated powers are authorized to take in case of *intentional non-execution* (this difference between Article 17 and 18 is significant).

I agree absolutely with the opinion generally held in Germany, namely that these particular measures could be undertaken only *by all the powers conjointly*. The Versailles Treaty always distinguishes clearly between the allied and associated powers in totality and the individual power (see, for example, Article 296, Annexes a, b and c). This distinction is made with special clearness in regard to this matter in Sections 17 and 18. Section 17 speaks of "each" of the powers interested. Section 18 speaks of "the" associated and allied powers. The difference is clearly visible when one glances at the provision of Article 1 of the ordinance bearing upon requisitions of the Rhineland commission, No. 59, Nov. 22, 1920, where it is stated:

"The right of requisition for its needs shall be exercised by each of the allied and associated armies." Section 18 confers simply the right of taking economic and financial measures as well as the right of reprisals. But requisition does not constitute an economic or financial measure but an action purely *military*. Section 18 does not pretend in any fashion to regulate measures of a military order. As far as these are concerned the legal status remains unchanged.

Economical and financial matters cannot be otherwise than those which the powers are able to employ within the limits of the domain of

their own authority (boycott, custom duties, &c.). An invasion of German territory and the employment of military power in order to realize economic measures in territory under German authority are not in any way justified by the tenor of Section 18. This manner of proceeding is irreconcilable with the sovereignty of the German Empire.

On the other hand, the sovereignty of the German Empire having been solemnly recognized by the allied and associated powers, no restriction of this sovereignty is admissible unless it is expressly so stipulated in the text of the Versailles Treaty.

Article 248 of the Treaty of Versailles declares:

"Subject to such exceptions as the Reparation Commission may approve, a first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent States shall be the cost of reparation and all other costs arising under the present treaty or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto or under arrangements concluded between Germany and the allied and associated powers during the armistice or its extensions.

"Up to May 1, 1921, the German Government shall not export or dispose of, and shall forbid the export or disposal of, gold, without the previous approval of the allied and associated powers acting through the Reparation Commission."

Even this stipulation does not modify in any way existing law regarding requisitions. It only confers in a general way a right of guarantee to the allied and associated powers.

Article 248 makes no mention of the manner in which this guarantee can be made effective. Besides, by the terms of Article 248 of the Peace Treaty, only the totality of assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent States are to provide reparations and other charges resulting from the treaty, and so forth. Consequently, the responsibility does not extend even to the property of community administrations of private persons. But merely a glance at Articles 53 and 56 of The Hague convention shows us how clearly the distinction is made between the resources of the empire and the States and the property of communities and individuals.

It results therefore that France and Belgium are not in any manner qualified to draw from this provision of the Versailles Treaty the least justification for seizure of private property.

(d) The Rhine Convention

As a general rule, in time of peace no right of requisition of any kind exists. It has been necessary to create a special exception for the Rhineland country occupied by the Allies, which is formulated in Article 6 of the Rhineland convention, where it is stated:

"The right of requisition of goods and service as laid down by The Hague convention of 1907 shall be exercised by the allied and associated armies of occupation."

This specific right of requisition does not apply at all to the basin of the Ruhr. One cannot properly expand it beyond the power of requisition conferred by The Hague convention. More than that, the allied countries had formerly asserted in the text of the response concerning the Rhineland convention (Versailles, July 29, 1919, Section 32) that they wish only to make use of this power of requisition "very infrequently," and only when particular circumstances should demand it. Moreover, it results from the connection of Articles 6 and 8 of the Rhineland convention that requisition demands should be addressed not to individual inhabitants but *directly to the empire*. But *in the basin of the Ruhr* any legal basis to justify a requisition measure is wholly lacking.

II. PERSONAL REQUISITIONS

(1) *Principle*—The law of nations lays down as a fundamental principle that in any case inhabitants of a country may not be constrained to associate themselves with, or to lend assistance to, actions which run counter to their interests or the laws or orders of their own country, or that affect their honor or conscience.

(2) *Hague Convention*—In The Hague convention of July 29, 1899, signed among others by France and Belgium, this principle is recognized in the body of the following sections:

(a) In Section 1, Chapter 2, it is provided, in the second article which concerns prisoners of war, that a prisoner of war cannot be forced to accept his freedom against the pledge of his word of honor. It is understood that the honor and conscience of the individual should be respected.

(b) The labors which prisoners of war shall be forced to render should not have any connection with military operations. (Art. 6, paragraph 2).

(c) In Section 3 (military power in occupied enemy country), Article 43 stipulates at the very start that the occupying force is obliged to re-establish order and public security *in accordance with the laws of the country* unless insurmountable obstacles intervene.¹

(d) Then Article 4 stipulates: "*It is forbidden to force the population of an occupied country to associate itself with warlike operations directed against its own country.*"

(e) Article 45 states: "*It is forbidden to compel the population of an occupied country to take the oath of allegiance to an enemy power.*"

¹In the proclamation of General Degoutte it is expressly provided that German laws shall continue in force.

(f) Article 46 ordains: "*The honor and the rights of a family and the life of citizens shall be respected.*"

It is then inadmissible to demand of any one an act susceptible of affecting his external or internal honor.

(g) Article 52 provides in regard to personal seizures " * * * Personal services can be demanded only for the needs of the Army of Occupation. They * * * cannot carry with them the obligation that the population should take part in military operations directed against their country."

Throughout all these provisions which are here invoked as an analogy and as the minimum of guarantee for the protection of the rights of the population can be traced the clear intention of the legislator to protect the honor, the liberty and the conscience of the population, and above all to do away with the antagonism of interests that exist between duty to one's country and the right of control of the occupying power. That right of control ends where duty toward one's country begins. Never is the occupant authorized to demand a positive action, a direct concurrence of the civil population in favor of measures which are directed against the State to which the inhabitants belong.

The civil population is invested with certain rights which ought under all circumstances to be respected by the occupant. They include life, property and * * * also honor. On the other hand, every citizen of a State has not only the duty but also the right to love his country. Honor is also intimately involved in this legal right. Public opinion is justified in casting contempt upon any individual who does not fulfill all his duties toward his country. But every prerogative of the occupying power ceases to exist when honor and conscience imperiously demand a determined attitude of opposition. This constitutes not only moral duty but also legal right, which is expressly recognized by international laws.

(3) *Armistice Treaty, Peace Treaty, Rhineland Convention.*

This legal status has not been touched upon either by the Versailles Treaty, the Armistice Treaty, or the Rhineland convention. There was, besides, no reason to touch in these laws and treaties in a more circumstantial manner on the right of the individual to love his country. All the more the reader will be interested in knowing that by the terms of the Rhenish convention, Germanic laws and authorities are in principle recognized. By virtue of Article 3 the High Commission has the power only to issue decrees in the measure that may be necessary to assure the maintenance of security and the needs of the military forces of the allied and

associated powers. German tribunals (Article 3c) and the civil administration of the German provinces will continue to exercise both their jurisdiction and functions in conformity with German laws (Article 5). In any case where a state of siege may be decreed the military authorities will be furnished with the powers provided by the law of May 30, 1892.

(4) *National law according to French legislation.*

French law recognizes to the greatest extent the right of every individual to love his country.

In French doctrine the question of responsibility is based, in the first place, upon the law of superior force. It may be a case of force majeure; in that case the person acting is not responsible; or it may be due to some fault of his own; in that case he bears the responsibility.

It is true that these principles figure, in the first place, in the civil law. However, they apply equally to the penal law. As a matter of fact, that which is not contrary to the law in civil matters is also not contrary to the law in penal affairs.

A case of absolute superior force is established in French law by the "will of the ruler." This is recognized as a *legal constraining force*. Within it is included every action committed under the constraint of *laws and authorities*. Besides, it is considered that moral constraint by moral superior force is placed on a level with legal constraint.

France recognizes as an unquestionable right that an action committed from love of country ought especially to be considered as a case of moral force majeure. It is this that is maintained by the eminent scholar, Professor Wahl of the Sorbonne, one of the most noted professors of law in France, in his well-known work, "Civil and Commercial Law of War," Paris, 1918, Volume 2, Paragraph 1033, Page 35 (referring to a case where a French civilian in territory occupied by German troops in violation of the law of nations commits acts of violence against the Germans whether by speech or by arms), namely, that from the point of view of the responsibility of the civilian toward third parties susceptible of being injured by the act, this should be equally recognized as a case of force majeure. His reasoning, which is worthy of note, is as follows: "For one cannot admit that any act whatever committed against an enemy is a fault; since it is inspired by patriotism, even exaggerated patriotism, it cannot be condemned."

There is no need of going so far. In the case in question, legal limits have not been overstepped. The delegates of the mining corporations who refuse to execute the order to furnish coal supplies do not thereby render themselves culpable of any action hostile to the law of nations.

They only adopt a passive attitude. They defend themselves against the claim that they should commit an action that is positively directed against their country and against the orders of their Government.

Besides, Professor Wahl thus expresses himself in the same work, Volume 2, Section 1016, Page 9, as follows:

"A case of force majeure is also existent when there are circumstances in which the execution of a contract will cause damage to the country of the party under constraint. One ought to see in this a moral impossibility. Such a case would be the delivery of objects which would be useful for national defense."

It follows that in French law the delegates of the mine owners are not, for two reasons, well established under obligations to execute the order of resuming deliveries; in the first place, because they find themselves in a situation where they are subject to the "order of the ruling power" (a case of legal force majeure).

Each of the delegates of the coal corporations has received a letter from the Government Coal Commissioner of the following tenor:

"Office of the Coal Commissioner, Berlin, Jan. 16, 1923.

"Herrn X., &c.: I have the honor of confirming my telegram, which was as follows: 'Referring to the interview which took place between the French Industrial Commission of the Basin of the Ruhr with the mine proprietors, I forbid—having in view the invasion of Franco-Belgian troops—for the present the delivery of any coal and coke destined for France and Belgium, even in a case where payment or provision for payment shall be made by the said States.

'STUTZ,

'Government Coal Commissioner.'

"I have the honor of drawing your attention to the fact that any disobedience to this order will be punishable by a year's imprisonment, in virtue of Section 7 of the Bulletin, relative to the nomination of a Government Coal Commissioner (Commissioner charged with the distribution of coal) of the date Feb 28, 1917. (R-G-Bl. 193). (Signed) STUTZ."

It follows from this that the mine delegates exposed themselves to grave prison penalties if they should decide to execute the orders of the French occupying authorities. The scruples and the conflict with duty to which the mine proprietors were subjected, cannot be shown more clearly than in the case now under discussion.

(5) *Is the inhabitant of a State able to contest the legitimacy of the laws and ordinances of this country? Case of acting under orders.*

Every inhabitant owes obedience to the laws of his country and to the properly formulated orders of competent authorities. He is not

able to decide upon the material justification of laws and orders or to question their timeliness. Less still is he able to or should he—in case of antagonism between the orders of his Government and the orders of a foreign Government—take sides, and that in favor of the foreign Government.

It is incontestable that the mine delegates are not State functionaries, but, owing to the system of control exercised by the State upon the mining industry, they exercise functions which approximate those of a governmental agent. In any case they owe obedience to the national authorities. It is fitting then to refer by way of analogy to the provision of Article 114 of the French Penal Code, which, in connection with the penal responsibility incumbent on an official, is thus expressed:

"If, nevertheless, he proves that he has acted by the orders of his superiors on matters in their jurisdiction in which he owes to them the obedience of a subject, he shall be exempt from penalty, which, in that case, will be applied only to the superiors who have given the order."

(6) *State of Siege.*

The existence of the state of siege does not modify at all the existing legal status. Independently of the question as to whether the armed forces, whose sojourn in the Basin of the Ruhr is not founded upon any basis of international law, have the right to proclaim a state of siege, the state of siege has never carried with it the right to deprive a population of the fundamental rights which they enjoy by virtue of the law of nations.

The state of siege has for its sole and only consequence the passing of the executive power to the military commander and the subordination to him of the civil authorities. This is not possible in any case without the will of the sovereign power of the State. One other consequence would be that should he contravene the decrees of military commanders issued for the maintenance of public order he would be subject to penalties.

Orders given with a view to the execution of deliveries on account of reparations have no relation to the maintenance of public order.

III. LITERATURE AND PRECEDENTS

French legal literature has adopted constantly the same viewpoint as that which has been previously stated. Thus in addition to the statement of Professor Wahl before mentioned, Bonfils-Fauchille in his *Manual of International Public Law*, 7th edition, Paris, 1914, thus expressed himself:

"(Section 1212, Page 851): 'The occupying authority is not able to requisition the supplying of weapons of war. It may confiscate these if they exist. But it cannot constrain the native inhabitants to participate even di-

rectly in acts of war carried on by their own enemy."

In other words, Bonfils affirms the possibility of a confiscation of goods in case of occupation by enemy troops; he denies, however, *even in case of war*, the possibility of ordering the inhabitant himself to deliver these objects. In fact, this would be equivalent to active participation of the civilian in the operations of the enemy power.

More clearly still does Ferrand express himself in his work "Requisitions," Paris 1917, Page 173:

"The inhabitants must not be menaced with drastic measures in case they fail to execute orders under conditions where it is incumbent upon them not to second directly, so to speak, warlike operations against their country. Should they refuse, the occupying power must limit itself to searching the houses and shops in order to carry out their requisitions."

I remember a case dating from the period of the occupation of Belgium which resembles that which we are now discussing. But at that time war existed, and the necessities of war, that is, the urgency of bringing war to a victorious conclusion, made the legal status in many respects of a different character.

Louis Lenoir, an inhabitant of Lessines, Belgium, a proprietor of a stone-crushing establishment, had been condemned by the War Council of Lessines in a sentence passed Oct. 1, 1915, under the Ordinance of the Governor General of Belgium dated Aug. 14, 1915, to five years' imprisonment for refusal to work. After his condemnation I was made the advocate of the defendant by his family. I adopted, in opposition to the German authorities both at Mons and Brussels, the point of view that the condemnation had been wrongly pronounced, since the injunction placed upon M. Lenoir of resuming work at his stone-breaking plant was of dubious propriety from the viewpoint of the law of nations, so much the more as M. Lenoir had the right to suppose that the stone product taken from his plant would be used against the interests of his country.

I was able to convince the German Government of the soundness of my reasoning, and M. Lenoir was immediately pardoned.

Gustave Raikem of Embourg, near Liège, a manufacturer, had been condemned by a sentence of a court-martial of the Liège Government to fifteen years at hard labor, because, on the day that Fort Embourg was taken by German troops, he had distributed civilian clothing to the garrison of the fort and had delivered to them false identification papers to favor them in their escape. As a defender of the accused, after the judgment had been passed, I advanced successfully the argument that M. Raikem was wholly within his rights as a Belgian, in acting as he did from patriotism, in the interest of his country, since at the time the act took place, he owed obedience to Belgian law. My argument was endorsed by an opinion of Herr von Liszt, Professor of International Law at Berlin, and M. Raikem was pardoned.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

I arrive then at these conclusions:

Neither existing international law, nor the Versailles Treaty, nor the armistice agreement, nor the Rhineland convention, including its complementary ordinances, nor the French law confer upon France and Belgium the legal right to seize the quantities of coal, coke and other combustibles, actually in stock in the Ruhr Basin or capable of being mined, against the will of their owners and the will of the German Government; nor, further, to transport them to other places, to direct them toward France and Belgium nor to take possession of them in any manner whatsoever. I conclude also that France and Belgium have no legal right to order either the mine administration or any German citizen to furnish, in opposition to the orders of the German Government, coal, coke and other combustibles for a French or Belgian destination; finally, I maintain that no German citizen who refuses to obey these commands can legally be constrained to do so or be subject to penalty for refusal to obey.

DR. GRIMM,

Advocate.

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT PROTEST

THE German Embassy in Washington on Jan. 17 made public the text of two notes delivered by the Berlin Government to the allied Governments protesting against action taken by the Interallied Rhineland Commission, in which it was alleged that France had added "violations" of the Rhineland convention to the alleged "violation" of the Treaty of Ver-

sailles, which Germany contended took place when the Ruhr was occupied. One of the notes was delivered to the British, French, Belgian and Italian Governments, while a second, a shorter note of protest, was delivered only to the British, French and Belgian Governments. The text of the first was as follows:

The Interallied Rhineland Commission issued

ordinances on Jan. 13 and 18 for the occupied Rhineland territory regulating the distribution of coal and the seizure of the coal taxes, the duties and the important export levies from the municipal and State forests.

The ordinances concerning the distribution of coal, quoting Article 3 of the Rhineland convention, are based on the assertion that a systematic distribution of coal in the occupied territories of the direct importance for public order and for the wants of the army, as well as necessary for the existence of the population.

As a legal basis of the other ordinances, merely those instructions are mentioned which some of the High Commissioners have received from their Governments in view of the deliberate defaults on the part of Germany as determined by the Reparation Commission.

With this apparently instructions are meant issued in the same way as the order to march into the Ruhr by the French and Belgian Governments according to Article 18, Annex II., Part VIII., of the Treaty of Versailles.

The German Government has already pointed out in its protest against the invasion of the Ruhr that the alleged defaults on the part of Germany with regard to her deliveries of wood and coal would only justify the demand of payments in cash, but not the application of other measures according to Articles 17 and 18.

The German Government has furthermore stated that even in the case of legal application of Articles 17 and 18 only such measures could be taken which could be carried out by the Allies in the territory under their own jurisdiction. It follows therefrom that also in the occupied Rhineland territory, where German sovereignty is merely restricted by the Rhineland convention, no measures on the part of the Allies are admissible, which exceed the stipulations of the said convention.

These bounds determined by the convention are transgressed by every one of the ordinances issued. The ordinance concerning the distribution of coal, which extends the competence of the newly inaugurated Interallied Coal Commission in Essen to the occupied Rhineland territory, justifies its existence by claiming the necessity of attending to the needs of the army of occupation, but this is without justification.

The German Government has never intended or stated it would refuse delivery of the coal necessary for the occupation forces. In reality the ordinance issued merely aims, with a view of furthering the Ruhr enterprise, to render possible under protection of military law the activities in the occupied Rhineland territory of the organ established at Essen in violation of the treaty.

The other ordinances, which do not even contain an attempt to justify their existence by stipulations of the Rhineland convention, aim at depriving the legitimate owners, i. e., the German Republic, the German States and municipalities, of receipts, to the benefit of the respective allied powers. These measures have thus, as conceded, not been taken on account of the needs of the occupation forces, but for reasons which lie entirely beyond the scope of duties incumbent upon the Interallied Rhineland Commission.

The subordination thereby ordered of German authorities and officials under the immediate command of the Interallied Rhineland Commission, as well as the prohibiting of them to receive instructions from German authorities in unoccupied Germany, contravenes the express stipulation of Article 5 of the Rhineland convention, according to which the civil administration of the provinces, districts, ac. remains in the hands of the German authorities, and according to which this administration continues to work by German law and under the central Government in Berlin.

By the issuance of the ordinances in question, the Rhineland Commission has abandoned the legal basis on which it was founded. By violating in the gravest manner the administrative and financial sovereignty of Germany and in particular of the German territories concerned, the Rhineland Commission has put itself at the disposal of the military enterprise at present undertaken by the French and Belgian Governments in defiance of international law and of the Treaty of Versailles.

The order given to German officials and authorities, combined with the threat of the most severe penalties, to take an active part in executing said measures amounts to an incredible imputation. Even in times of war it is entirely illegal to force the home authorities of the occupied territory to take part in the execution of measures aiming at their own Government.

Therefore, the German Government and the Governments of the various German States have pointed out to their officials that those ordinances which are in contradiction with the Rhineland convention have no legal value and are not to be complied with.

The second note of protest, which was delivered to the French, British and Belgian Governments, referred to the expulsion of German officials as a "system of trying to force with terrorizing measures German officials to render assistance in the execution of illegal measures aimed against their own country."

BRITISH DEBT REPAYMENT ON AMERICAN TERMS

President Harding's strong plea to Congress to ratify agreement accepted by the British Cabinet—"A covenant of peace and recuperation"—Full text of the President's message

AGREEMENT to settle the debt of more than four and a half billion dollars owing by Great Britain to the United States was reached as a result of the negotiations conducted in Washington during January between Stanley Baldwin, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Montagu C. Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, on the one side, and the World War Foreign Debt Commission on the other. The terms of the settlement are embodied in the report which President Harding submitted to Congress in his message of Feb. 7, when he recommended the passing of legislation to make the agreement effective.

Mr. Baldwin, who returned to England on Jan. 27, reported to the Cabinet on Jan. 30. Ministers were divided on the question whether they should accept the American terms or wait for an opportunity to make a more satisfactory settlement. Finally, however, the Cabinet at another meeting next day agreed to the settlement arranged in Washington.

The way was now open for the United States to ratify the agreement, and as a first step President Harding appeared before a joint session of Congress on Feb. 7 to request early action. His message dealt not only with the question of funding the British debt, but also with the Ship Subsidy bill. An important feature of the message was the President's intimation that he was opposed to the proposal to embody a bonus for soldiers in the proposed legislation dealing with foreign debts.

The complete text of the President's message follows:

To the Congress:

You have been asked to assemble in joint session in order that I may submit to you the report of the World War Foreign Debt Commis-

sion, covering its accepted proposal for the funding of the debt due to the United States from the Government of Great Britain. This report, concluded on Feb. 3, 1923, reads as follows:

"The President:

"The World War Foreign Debt Commission created under the act of Congress approved Feb. 9, 1922, having received the mission appointed by the British Government to consider the fulfilling of the demand obligation of that Government held by the United States, report as follows:

"The British Government designated as its representatives the Right Hon. Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Montagu Norman, the Governor of the Bank of England, who have conferred with the commission in Washington and presented facts relating to the position of the British Government. The commission has also met frequently in separate sessions and has given the fullest consideration to the problems involved in the funding of the British debt to the United States.

"It became manifest at the outset that it would not be possible to effect an agreement for funding within the limits of the act approved Feb. 9, 1922, and the commission has, therefore, considered the practicability of a settlement on some other basis, and though it has not been able, in the absence of authority under the law, to conclude negotiations, it unanimously recommends for submission to Congress a settlement with the British Government as follows:

"Principal of notes to be refunded, \$4,074,818,358.44.

"Interest accrued and unpaid up to Dec. 1, 1922, at the rate of $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., \$629,836,160.99.

"Deduct payments made Oct. 16, 1922, and Nov. 15, 1922, with interest at $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. thereon to Dec. 15, 1922, \$100,526,379.69.

"Total, \$4,604,128,085.74.

"To be paid in cash, \$4,128,085.74.

"Total principal of indebtedness as of Dec. 15, 1922, for which British Government bonds are to be issued to the United States Government at par, \$4,600,000,000.

"The principal of the bonds shall be paid in annual instalments on a fixed schedule, subject

to the right of the British Government to make these payments in three-year periods. The amount of the first year's instalment will be \$23,000,000 and these annual instalments will increase with due regularity during the life of the bonds until, in the sixty-second year, the amount of the instalment will be \$175,000,000, the aggregate instalments being equal to the total principal of the debt.

"The British Government shall have the right to pay off additional amounts of the principal of the bonds on any interest date upon ninety days' previous notice.

"Interest is to be payable upon the unpaid balances at the following rates on Dec. 15 and June 15 of each year: 3 per cent. semi-annually, June 15, 1923, to December 15, 1932, inclusive; 3½ per cent. semi-annually, June 15, 1923, until final payment.

"For the first five years one-half the interest may be deferred and added to the principal, bonds to be issued therefor similar to those of the original issue.

"Any payment of interest or of principal may be made in any United States Government bonds issued since April 6, 1917, such bonds to be taken at par and accrued interest.

"The commission believes that a settlement of the British debt to the United States on this basis is fair and just to both Governments and that its prompt adoption will make a most important contribution to international stability. The extension of payment both of the principal and interest over a long period will make for stability in exchange and promotion of commerce between the two countries. The payment of principal has been established on a basis of positive instalments of increasing volume, firmly establishing the principle of repayment of the entire capital sum. The payment of interest has been established at the approximately normal rates payable by strong Governments over long terms of years.

"It has not been the thought of the commission that it would be just to demand over a long period the high rate of interest naturally maintained during the war and reconstruction; such an attempt would defeat our efforts at settlement. Beyond this the commission has felt that the present difficulties of unemployment and high taxation in the United Kingdom should be met with suitable consideration during the early years, and therefore the commission considers it equitable and desirable that payments during the next few years should be made on such basis and with such flexibility as will encourage economic recuperation not only in the countries immediately concerned but throughout the world.

"This settlement between the British Government and the United States has the utmost significance. It is a business settlement, fully preserving the integrity of the obligations, and it

represents the first great step in the readjustment of the intergovernmental obligations growing out of the war.

"Respectfully submitted,

"A. W. MELLON, Chairman;
"CHARLES E. HUGHES,
"REED SMOOT,
"THEODORE E. BURTON."

In its comments upon the arrangements negotiated the commission itself has said essentially everything necessary to commend the agreement to your sanction. Note that the commission urges that the settlement is on a basis which "is fair and just to both Governments" and "will make a most important contribution to international stability." More important still is the closing observation that "it is a business settlement, fully preserving the integrity of the obligations, and it represents the first great step in the readjustment of the intergovernmental obligations growing out of the war." In these observations I most heartily approve.

The call of the world today is for integrity of agreements, the sanctity of covenants, the validity of contracts. Here is the first clearing of the war-clouded skies in a debt-burdened world, and the sincere commitment of one great nation to validate its financial pledges and discharge its obligations in the highest sense of financial honor.

There is no purpose to report that your commission has driven a hard bargain with Great Britain, or to do a less seemly thing in proclaiming a rare generosity but insistent among many of our own people—the British commission came to make acknowledgment of the debt, to put fresh stamp of approval upon its validity and agree upon terms for its repayment.

It was manifest from the beginning that Great Britain could not undertake any program of payment which would conform to the limitations of time and interest rates which the commission had been authorized to grant. But here was a great nation acknowledging its obligations and seeking terms on which it might repay. So your commission proceeded to negotiate in a business way for a fair and just settlement.

Such a settlement had to take into consideration the approximately normal interest rates payable, as the commission suggests, "by strong Governments over a long term of years," with a temporary interest rate and suitable options adjusted to the tremendous problems of readjustment and recuperation. Your commission went so far as it believed the American sense of fair play would justify. Even then the British Debt

Commission did not feel justified by its instructions to accept the proposal. Only after submission to the British Cabinet was the proposal of your commission accepted, and I bring it to you with the earnest recommendation that it be given, so far as legislation procedure will admit, a cordial and prompt approval.

A transaction of such vast importance naturally has attracted widespread attention and much of commendation. It is a very gratifying thing to note the press and public have uttered substantially unanimous approval. It means vastly more than the mere funding and the ultimate discharge of the largest international loan ever contracted. It is a recommitment of the English-speaking world to the validity of contract; it is in effect a plight against war and war expenditures and a rigid adherence to that production and retrenchment which enhances stability precisely as it discharges obligations.

It cannot be unseemly to say it, and it is too important to be omitted, the failure of the British undertaking would have spread political and economic discouragement throughout the world and general repudiation would have likely followed in its wake. But here is kept faith—willingly kept, let it be recorded—and a covenant of peace no less effective than it would be if joint British and American opposition to war were expressly agreed upon.

It is a covenant of peace and recuperation, of respect and co-operation. It is a new element of financial and economic stabilization, when the world is sadly needing a reminder of the ways of peace. It is an example of encouragement and inspiration, when the world is staggering in discouragement and bowed with the sorrows of wars that were and fears of wars which humanity is praying may be avoided.

Ordinarily I should be reluctant to add this question to a Congressional program which is already crowded, in view of the short period remaining of your session. But it is of such outstanding importance to us and to the world that I should be remiss if I did not invite your sanction even amid crowded calendars and pending problems of great importance. And I hope you will be glad to approve.

If the debtor nation could decide to assume the great obligation, in two Cabinet sessions, in the face of enormous financial and economic difficulties, surely the deciding authority of the creditor nation will be ready to approve in a spirit appropriate to the great transaction and with a promptness which will convey befitting appreciation.

I am not unmindful of the disposition to pledge the application of anticipated payments in giving sanction to the settlement. It is not necessary to remind the Congress that the use

of money secured in the repayment of war loans has been pledged by the very grant of authority to make the loans. The repeal of that commitment is always within the authority of the Congress if such a repeal is deemed wise, but it will best comport with the importance of such an international transaction to give a frank, exclusive and direct decision, uninvolved by any disposition of the moneys which the funding program ultimately will bring to the Federal Treasury.

Nor am I unmindful of the importance of pending legislation with which any prolonged consideration of the debt settlement might come in conflict.

Knowing there is abundant time for ample debate, I would be recreant to my belief in the urgency of a decision on the Merchant Marine bill if I did not renew the request that it be brought to a final disposition. I venture the allusion because it has been threatened that the Merchant Marine act shall not be allowed to come to a vote.

Today you have a debt settlement which is to bring the Treasury something more than a hundred and fifty millions a year, and we rightly appraise it a notable accomplishment. On the other hand, the executive branch of the Government is charged with the operation of Government-owned shipping, which is losing the Federal Treasury \$50,000,000 a year. It is as important to avoid losses as it is to secure funds on debts or from taxation sources.

I have detailed the discouraging situation with regard to our shipping to Congress, and have suggested what is believed to be a remedy, not only to put an end to the losses but to upbuild an American merchant marine to meet our cherished aspirations and further our commerce abroad. In inviting your support, I frankly urged that if Congress would not approve, it should submit some alternative remedy. I am unwilling, the public is unwilling, to continue these appalling losses to the Public Treasury when we know we are operating with no prospect of relief or of ultimate achievement.

Congress owes to itself, to the executive branch of the Government and to the American public some decisive action. Mere avoidance by prolonged debate is a mark of impotence on a vitally important public question.

I plead for a decision. If there is a favorable majority, the bill should be enacted. If a majority is opposed, defeat will be decisive. Then, if Congress fails in providing the requested alternative measure, the executive branch of the Government may proceed as best it can to end the losses in liquidation and humiliation.

I speak frankly, because the situation demands frankness. I am trying to emphasize a responsibility which cannot be met by one branch of

the Government alone. There is call for Congressional expression, not mere avoidance. I am not seeking now to influence the Senate's decision, but I am appealing for some decision.

There is time, abundant time, for decisive action on both these tremendously important questions. I have brought up the Shipping bill because I can foresee the possible conflict for right of way, but it ought and can be avoided. There is time for essential debate of both, and each carries its own appeal. Either is fit to be recorded a chapter in great achievement, both will mark a signal triumph. Both are inseparably related to our good fortunes and our high place in the world.

By a vote of 291 to 44 the House of

Representatives on Feb. 9 passed a bill to amend the Debt Funding act in accordance with the President's recommendation. The bill was then sent to the Senate for its approval.

TOTAL BRITISH DEBT

An official statement on Jan. 25 showed that on March 31, 1922, the British national debt totaled £7,742,526,147, or more than \$37,000,000,000 at the normal rate of exchange. The debt owing to America is therefore a little less than one-eighth of the total.

CHANGING VALUES OF EUROPEAN CURRENCIES

CONSIDERABLE light is thrown upon European conditions by the changes in the exchange rates for the different countries. On Feb. 10 the closing rates in New York were as shown in the table printed below. For comparison the rates on the same date in the previous year are also supplied. These figures are of further interest in connection with the article on Europe's Frenzied Finance on page 968 of this number.

The parity of exchange is given as reported by the United States Mint. The quotation on sterling represents dollars and cents; all others represent cents and decimals of a cent. Quotations preceded by the decimal mark indicate a price measured in fractions of a cent:

| | Par. | Feb. 10, 1923. | Feb. 10, 1922. |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Sterling | \$4.86 $\frac{5}{8}$ per sovereign | 4.681 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 4.33 $\frac{3}{8}$ |
| France | 19.3 cents per franc | 6.20 | 8.54 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Italy | 19.3 cents per lira | 4.82 | 4.83 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Belgium | 19.3 cents per franc | 5.461 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 8.16 |
| Germany | 23.8 cents per mark | .0035 | .501 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Austria | 20.3 cents per crown | .00141 $\frac{1}{2}$ | .031 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Czechoslovakia ... | 20.3 cents per crown | 2.98 | 1.87 |
| Denmark | 26.8 cents per krone | 18.88 | 20.40 |
| Finland | 19.3 cents per finmark | 2.63 | 2.02 |
| Greece | 19.3 cents per drachma | 1.28 | 4.55 |
| Holland | 40.2 cents per florin | 39.50 | 37.10 |
| Hungary | 20.3 cents per crown | .04 | .15 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Norway | 26.8 cents per krone | 18.48 | 16.25 |
| Poland | 23.8 cents per mark | .0026 | .031 $\frac{1}{8}$ |
| Rumania | 19.3 cents per leu | .49 | .81 |
| Serbia (Belgrade) | 19.3 cents per dinar | .96 | 1.32 |
| Spain | 19.3 cents per peseta | 15.66 | 15.62 |
| Sweden | 26.8 cents per krona | 26.53 | 25.80 |
| Switzerland | 19.3 cents per franc | 18.79 | 19.48 |

THE FAILURE OF THE LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

Near Eastern Conference breaks up after the Turks refuse to sign the peace terms presented by the Allies—Nearly three months of negotiations rendered futile by economic and financial demands infringing Turkey's sovereignty—A prospect of renewal

THE Near Eastern conference, which opened at Lausanne, Switzerland, on Nov. 20, 1922, between representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy, on one side, and of Turkey, on the other, with Greece and Russia present as interested parties, after surviving many crises and threats of rupture during nearly three months of negotiations, finally broke down on Feb. 4, 1923, on the definite refusal of the Turkish delegation to sign the treaty presented to them by the allied leaders. Strenuous efforts of the allied, especially the French, spokesmen, and of the American observer, Richard Washburn Child, to avert the breakdown by personal appeals to Ismet Pasha, head of the Turkish delegation, proved unavailing, and the conference was brought to an untimely end, after agreement had been reached on 80 per cent. of the thorny issues involved.

The reef on which the conference was shattered was the delicate question of Turkey's new economic status, the régime of capitulations, and the question of juridical guarantees for foreigners proposed as a substitute for capitulations, which the Turks resolutely refused to continue. The only bright spot in the horizon, as the delegations returned home, was the success of France in securing from Ismet Pasha, before his return to Angora, a more favorable consideration of the allied proposals on capitulations, and a virtual pledge to continue the conference at some future date.

Failure of the conference was predicted as early as Jan. 23, when the British proposed to refer the disposition of the Mosul (Mesopotamia) oil district to the League of Nations, and the Turks refused this solution, and insisted on a plebiscite.

Undeterred by Turkish resistance, Lord Curzon wrote to the Council of the League of Nations, asking its intervention, and this solution was taken for granted in the draft of the treaty prepared. This draft was completed and distributed to all delegations on Jan. 29, and was given to the Turks privately with an intimation that it must be taken or left within three days following its formal presentation, on Wednesday, Jan. 31. The Turks were represented as being in despair after studying the more than 150 typewritten pages, containing many clauses to which they have been opposed from the start, and many others, representing last-minute insertions, which they found incomprehensible. The draft treaty contained 160 articles, to which eight separate conventions were attached. The salient features were as follows:

The question of juridical guarantees for foreigners was covered in a special declaration, which outlined the system which the Turks refused to accept.

It provided that for at least five years Turkey would organize a corps of legal advisers. The Turkish Government would appoint a commission composed of two Turks and three Justices of The Hague Tribunal, which would submit a list of foreign advisers. These would be attached to the Ministry of Justice and assigned to service in the Turkish courts in Constantinople, Smyrna, Samsun and Adana, and also to the Courts of Appeal and Cassation. One foreigner would be present in ordinary trial cases involving foreigners, and they must be in the majority when cases are tried in courts of last appeal.

Arrests of foreigners in large cities would be effected only by a permit from the legal advisers, and foreigners arrested elsewhere, or without a permit from the advisers, could demand to be taken before one of the advisers for a hearing.

The problem of Mosul was treated in a few words. The frontier between Turkey and Iraq would be determined in conformity with a decision to be rendered by the Council of the League of Nations.

The project for a convention for the administration of the Straits was a separate document. It stipulated that the Straits Control Commission might include a representative of the United States when the United States adheres to the Straits treaty.

In case of any act of war or menace to the security of the demilitarized zones, the high contracting parties, "and in any event France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, will hinder them conjointly by every means that the Council of the League of Nations may lay down."

The remainder of the convention, by which waterways are open to merchantmen and warships under defined restrictions, was virtually as has been reported in the February CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

The treaty fixed the entire frontier of Turkey, except that of Mosul. It gave Eastern Thrace to Turkey.

The financial clauses, many of which Turkey refused to accept, were set forth in great detail.

A special section was devoted to reparations. It contained a clause under which the Turkish Government must ask the advice of the Council on the Ottoman debt concerning all concessions to be accorded Turks or others.

The eight conventions dealt, respectively, with the Straits, the frontiers of Thrace, the status of foreigners in Turkey, the Albanian declaration regarding payment of the Ottoman debt, the commercial régime with Turkey, the armistice declaration and the exchange of populations and exchange of prisoners of war between Turkey and Greece.

Though both sides showed a conciliatory attitude on Jan. 31, when the draft treaty was formally presented, the action of the Turks in sending on Feb. 2 a list of some thirty points which they found unacceptable in the draft treaty made the situation again intense. The memorandum emphasized the Turks' rejection of the juridical guarantees for foreigners on the ground of an infringement of Turkey's sovereignty; also, the proposals relating to economic concessions and contracts granted by the rulers of the old Ottoman Empire and which the Angora Government insisted on revising and controlling. Turkey consented to have foreign

legal advisers appointed to reframe the Turkish legal code and to receive complaints of foreigners when the law was unjustly administered, but insisted that these advisers be appointed by neutral countries during the World War and not by The Hague Permanent Court of International Justice. She declined to give the advisers control over all arrests of foreigners or domiciliary searches, citing again her right of sovereignty. Though further concessions as to both economic and juridical affairs were submitted to Ismet Pasha at the last moment by the Allies, he remained adamant and declared that Turkey would never sign such a peace as the one presented.

The whole Turkish position was set forth in a memorandum presented on this date (Feb. 4). This note declared that agreement had been reached on all fundamental points, and that the extent of agreement was sufficient for the establishment of peace. It stressed the concessions the Turks had made in relation to the Straits, Gallipoli and the Thracian frontier. Regarding Mosul, it proposed that this problem be excluded from the conference and that the issue be settled between Great Britain and Turkey within one year.

The last battle of wills was fought at Lord Curzon's room at Ouchy between Ismet Pasha and Riza Nur Bey, for the Turks, and Lord Curzon, M. Bompard and the Marquis di Garroni, representing the Allies. The Turks set forth their unalterable opposition to the economic and financial clauses; the allied spokesmen made earnest appeals for reconsideration. Their efforts were vain. The conference broke up.

M. Bompard, head of the French delegation, whose efforts to avert a rupture had been indefatigable to the point of bringing British charges of disloyalty to the Allies, saw Ismet Pasha before departing for Paris and telegraphed Premier Poincaré subsequently that Ismet had yielded on capitulations, and that the conference would be resumed after the Turkish spokesman's return from Angora. M. Poincaré at once relayed the news to London. It was understood that the terms of the Mudania armistice remained in force pending new discussions.

OIL INTERESTS IN THE FIGHT FOR MOSUL

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Instructor in History, Government and Economics,
Harvard University

How fuel needs influence world politics—Clash of great oil groups basis of acute international differences—Great Britain's determination to control Mesopotamia—Recognition of American interests

WHAT is supposed to be one of the richest oil fields in the world is located in the district of Mosul, which before the war was an integral part of Turkey. Shortly after 1900 German interests secured concessions in this region. But the Turks began to obstruct prospecting after they learned that the Germans had deceived them as to the real wealth of the fields. British interests also had been prospecting in Mesopotamia. Just before the war a compromise between the two groups was reached by the formation of the Turkish Petroleum Company, in which three-quarters of the stock was held by the British and one-quarter by the Germans. The details of a concession to this company in the Mesopotamian fields were approved by the Turkish Minister of Finance, but the outbreak of the war prevented its ratification by Parliament.

In 1916 France and England signed the Sykes-Picot agreement, dividing the Near East, and, for some reason, assigning Mosul to France. In 1918, however, Lloyd George persuaded Clemenceau to turn over Mosul to the British in return for which they would support French claims in Syria. During the peace conference a misunderstanding arose over this agreement. The British insisted that Mosul had been given to them unconditionally, while the French said that they had surrendered it on condition that they received a share of its oil.

One of the incidental reasons for the San Remo conference of the Allies, held in the Spring of 1920 to deal with the Turkish question as a whole, was to settle this oil dispute. In the Treaty of Sèvres,

drafted by the conference, the British occupation of Mesopotamia was confirmed by recognizing the provisional independence of Mesopotamia (in which Mosul was included), and making it a mandate to be supervised by the League of Nations. It was also decided that this mandate should be exercised by Great Britain.¹

An oil agreement was also drawn up which settled the Mosul dispute by giving the French the former German interests in the Turkish Petroleum Company, or 25 per cent. of the net output of the fields. Great Britain also promised to support an arrangement between France and the Anglo-Persian company for the piping of oil from Persia to the French mandate in Syria. On Dec. 23, 1920, an agreement was signed which transferred French territory in Syria to Great Britain, in order to carry out this arrangement.

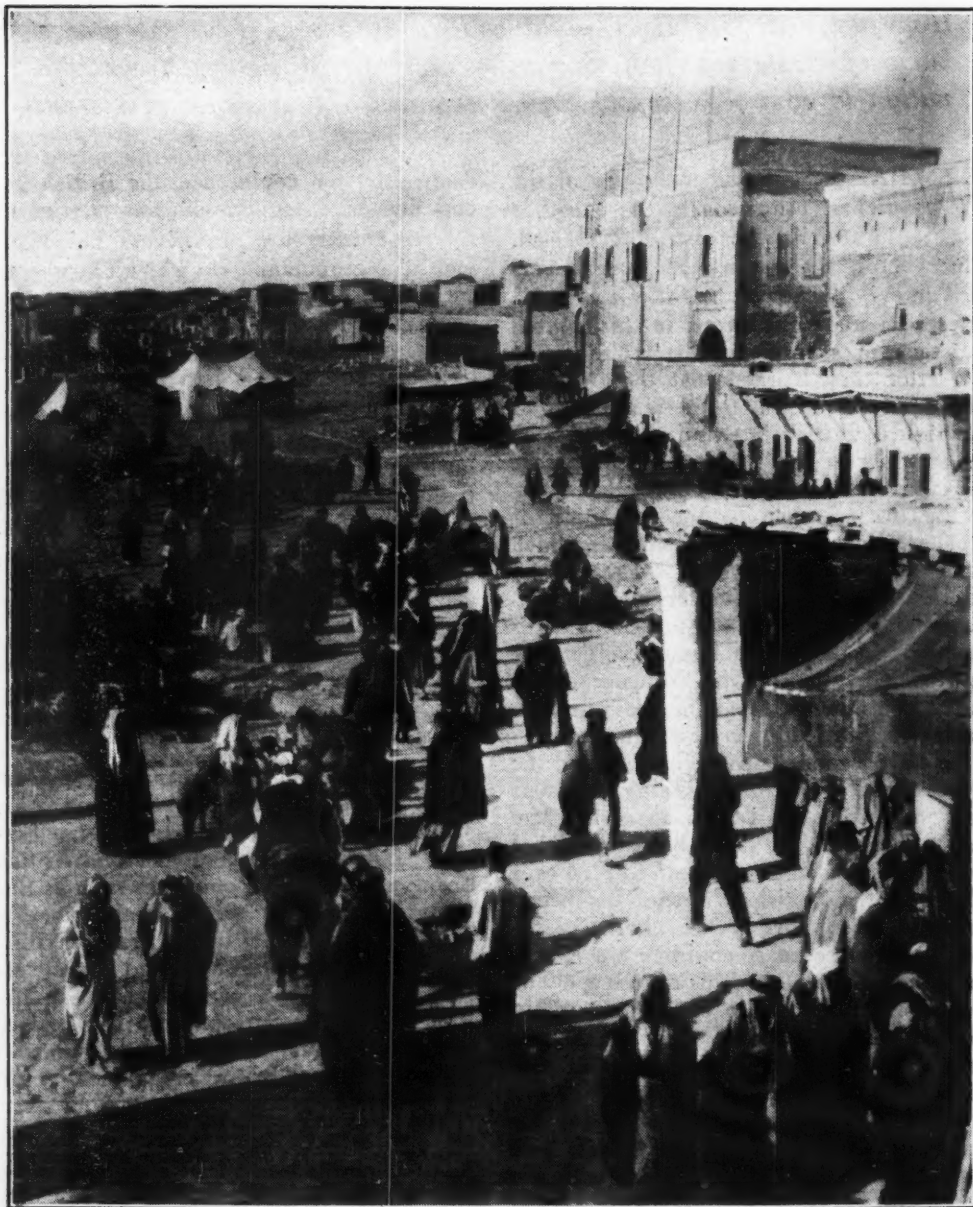
The San Remo oil agreement went further. It also applied to "Rumania, Asia Minor, territories of the old Russian Empire, Galicia, French colonies and British Crown colonies." In countries such as Rumania and Russia the general principle was laid down that joint Franco-British companies should be supported in their efforts to obtain oil concessions. "In the French colonies, protectorates and zones of influence, including Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, Franco-British companies should

¹ The terms of the Mesopotamia mandate have not been ratified by the League of Nations; apparently the idea of a mandate has been surrendered, for the British have made King Feisal king, and in the treaty of alliance of October, 1922, England recognizes the "independence" of Mesopotamia or Irak, although she retains control over finances and foreign policy.

also be supported, but in these groups the French should hold 67 per cent. of the stock."

Despite the provisions for French participation, these oil companies would probably be managed by British oil men and their offices would be located in London, where British stockholders could control

them. This was inevitable, because of the state of the French oil industry. The Sani Remo agreement was thus a victory for the British oil group. Moreover, from the standpoint of the United States this agreement was a defeat of the principle of the open door. Article 7 of the agreement said that "in the event of a private petro-



(Underwood)
Market place of Mosul, the historic town on the River Tigris, possession of which is in dispute between Great Britain and Turkey

leum company being used to develop the Mesopotamian oil fields the British Government will place at the disposal of the French Government a share of 25 per cent. in such company." This was unmistakable evidence that Great Britain intended to prevent these oil fields, whose resources are estimated to equal the oil resources of the whole of the United States, from falling into the hands of foreign oil companies.

Although the United States produces about 70 per cent. of the world's oil, it already consumes 25 per cent. more than it produces. Moreover, American oil fields are becoming exhausted. Our reserves are estimated to be only 9,150,000,000 barrels, which, at our present rate of consumption, will be exhausted in twenty years. We are using up our reserves sixteen times as rapidly as foreign countries. In contrast with our own situation, the world's oil reserves are calculated to last 250 years. Obviously, the attempt on the part of other nations to gain control of these resources threatened our interests.

Even before the terms of the San Remo agreement were made public the oil policy of Great Britain had irritated American operators. When our oil concerns entered foreign countries for the purpose of securing concessions they repeatedly found themselves blocked by foreign financial and commercial influence. In October, 1919, an American oil prospector attempted to prospect for oil in Palestine, which was occupied by British troops. Despite the fact that the Standard Oil held concessions there from the old Turkish Government, the prospector was summarily arrested by British officers. When the American Government complained the British Foreign Office declared that, pending the establishment of a local Government in Palestine, all operations had been forbidden to Britishers and foreigners alike.

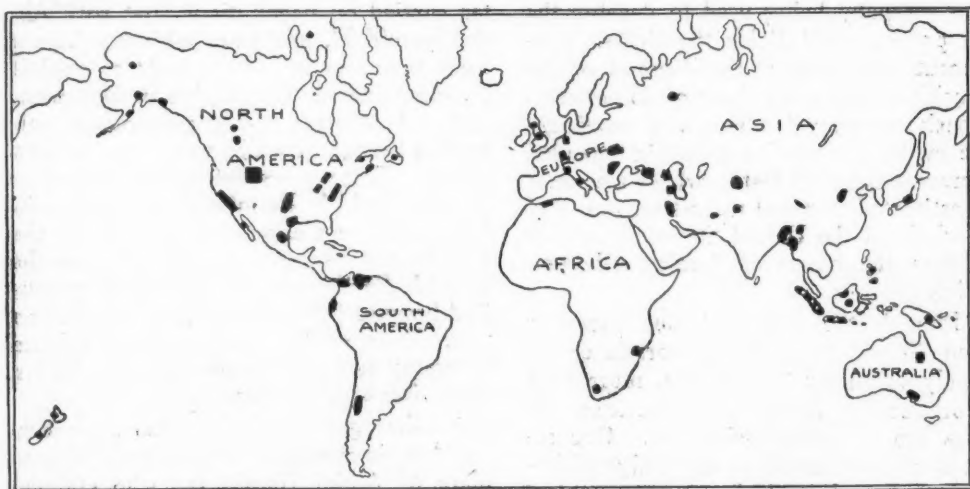
AMERICAN INTERESTS IN MESOPOTAMIA

In the particular case of Mesopotamia there were several American claimants who contested the concessions of the Turkish Petroleum Company. Admiral Ches-

ter carried on negotiations first with Abdul Hamid II. and later with the Young Turk Government for the right to exploit certain mines and oil fields in Mesopotamia and Armenia and to construct a railroad, a branch of which was to go through Mosul. Three years before the formation of the Turkish Petroleum Company—in June, 1911—an agreement embodying the Chester concessions was submitted to the Turkish Parliament, but remained unratified because of the outbreak of the Italian war. Thus, neither the Turkish Petroleum Company nor the Chester interests had a clear title to the fields.

Another group of claimants representing American capital were the twenty-two heirs of Abdul Hamid II., who claimed that he had bought these fields with his own funds, and that they were his personal property when he died in 1915. Certain American interests acquired part of these claims and were represented at the Lausanne conference. But Abdul Hamid II. was a very high-handed autocrat, who was deposed in 1909. It is doubtful whether any Government would allow his heirs to enjoy natural resources acquired probably by despotic means. In fact, the Turkish courts had declared Abdul Hamid's claims invalid.

After Great Britain's oil policy was brought to the attention of the United States Senate in the Spring of 1920 it adopted a resolution asking the State Department to report on the measures foreign Governments had taken to exclude Americans from oil fields. In April, 1920, Congress passed the Public Lands Leasing act, which provided that no public lands should be leased to an alien unless his country extended the same right to Americans. The following month President Wilson sent a special message to the Senate which declared that the policy of the British was to exclude foreigners from owning or operating oil-producing properties throughout most of the empire, and also for the Government itself to participate in oil undertakings. This message was indirectly denied by Lord Curzon, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in a memorandum to Ambassador Geddes, dated July 5, 1921, in which it was stated that the British Government was not co-operating



Where the principal oil fields and deposits are located in different parts of the world

with British commercial interests to secure "an undue share" of the petroleum resources. Lord Curzon also insisted that there was an absence of a "general policy of exclusion of foreigners from British fields."

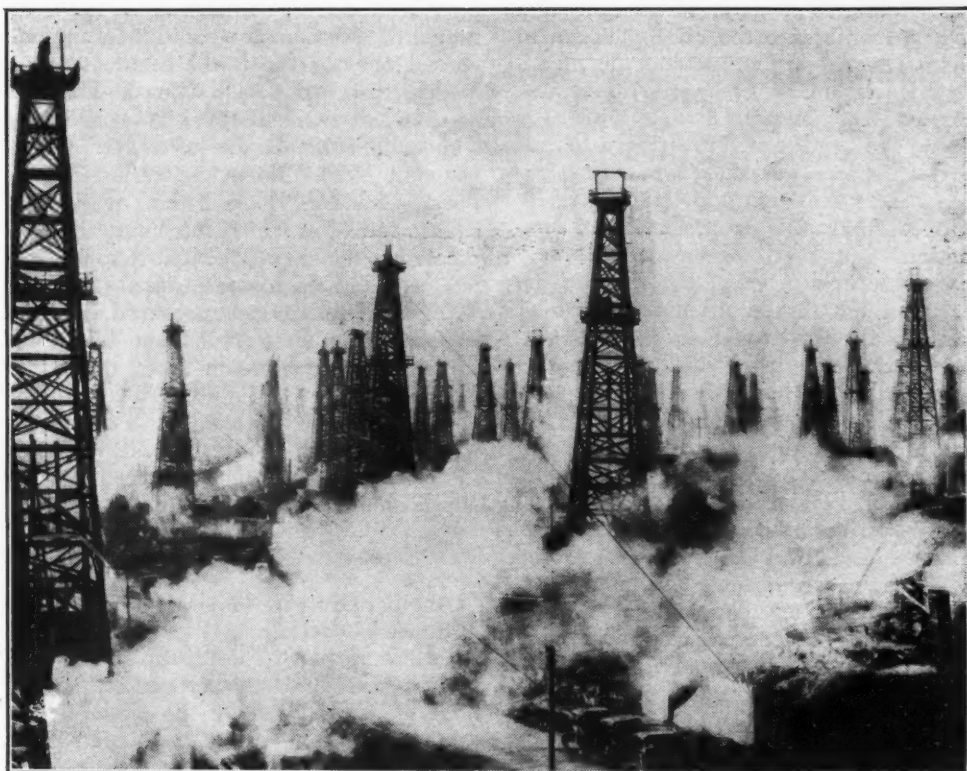
In 1920 the Philippine Legislature passed a law barring aliens from the exploitation of the public oil lands of the Philippines. Some months later the State Department supported the Costa Rican Government in canceling the Amory concession, an oil grant given to a British concern by the Tinoco Government. When a later Government in Costa Rica repudiated this grant, Great Britain protested to the United States. But we took the position that as neither Great Britain nor the United States had recognized the Tinoco Government the concession was not binding.

During the Summer of 1920 a vigorous correspondence was carried on between the United States and Great Britain over the question of oil. On Nov. 20, 1920, Secretary of State Colby dispatched another note protesting against the San Remo oil agreement and the exclusion of American oil interests from mandates established under the League of Nations. The draft mandate for Mesopotamia (and also for Palestine) prohibited discrimination against "the nationals of any State, member of the League of Nations, * * *

in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of ships or aircraft." The United States was not a member of the League. There was nothing in the terms of this mandate, therefore, to prevent the exclusion of all American traders and oil men from territory which had been won from Germany with the aid of American arms. Although the United States was not a member of the League, it had been a "participant in that conflict [with the Central Powers]" and had been a "contributor to its successful issue." It could not "consider any of the associated powers the smallest not less than itself, debarred from the discussion of any of its consequences, or from participation in the rights and privileges secured under the mandates provided for in the treaties of peace."

In March, 1921, Lord Curzon answered the Colby note by reiterating that the oil concession in Mesopotamia had been granted before the war, and should therefore be protected—a statement which the United States would not accept, on the ground that the concession had never actually been completed. For two years negotiations on this question were carried on, the Harding Administration assuming the same position as its predecessor.

The contest between American and British oil interests also became acute in



(P. & A.)

A typical scene in the exploitation of the world's oil resources. This photograph was actually taken at Long Beach, California.

Djambi. This territory, located in the Dutch East Indies, has another extremely valuable oil field. In 1912 the Netherlands received bids of six different companies for this concession, and in 1915 the Government decided to grant it to the Batavian Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Royal Dutch-Shell, a combination under British control. At this time the Dutch Parliament failed to ratify the concession, and it hung fire until 1921. When the matter was brought up again, the American State Department asked that the Standard Oil Company be allowed to participate in the development of these fields. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey applied for a part of Djambi early in 1921, but in June the Netherlands Parliament refused to accept the Standard Oil bid, on the ground that it should have applied in 1912. It then granted a forty-year concession to a holding company representing

equally the Batavian Company and the Dutch Government. In reality this was another victory for British oil.

Just before the Washington conference American oil interests found themselves blocked in Mesopotamia, in Palestine and in Djambi. The race for oil wells threatened to become as dangerous to the relations between Great Britain and the United States as the race for battleships. A few days before the Washington conference opened, The London Times declared that the conference would be a failure unless Great Britain were ready to make concessions on the oil question. No public agreement was reached at Washington in regard to oil. But there is good reason to believe that secret negotiations on the subject took place, and that the American State Department drew up twenty-one principles which should guide international oil policy. Whether or not such negotiations

actually occurred, it is significant that after the conference the oil fog began to clear. The Anglo-Persian and the Standard Oil companies reached an agreement whereby they agreed to form a joint company to explore for oil in Northern Persia, in the districts which had not been included under the Anglo-Persian concession.

Opposition to this Anglo-American combination, however, developed largely through the insistence of the Russian Soviet upon the former Russian sphere of influence in Northern Persia. The Persian Government, which had virtually repudiated the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1919, wished to strengthen American influence there. But an Anglo-American combination was quite a different thing, and so the Persian Government carried on negotiations with the Sinclair Oil group. These American interests offered the Persian Government a graduated participation up to 25 per cent. of the net profits from the concession and a loan of \$10,000,000. But apparently no concession has yet been granted.

Furthermore, the obstructions to American oil interests in Palestine were soon removed. In the Spring of 1920 the Standard Oil Company of New York had been allowed to proceed with prospecting on concessions which it had previously received from the Turkish Government. But the most important sign of a settlement was in the fact that the League of Nations Council approved the British mandate over Palestine last Summer, after Lord Balfour had stated that the terms of the mandate had been modified in accordance with suggestions made by the United States.

Given a free field, there is no doubt that the various Standard Oil Companies will be able to hold their own against the Royal Dutch-Shell. Fifty per cent. of their interests now lie in foreign countries—in Mexico, China, Canada and elsewhere; and one or more of them have sought concessions in Fiume and the Caucasus. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey bid against the Royal Dutch-Shell for a concession in Czechoslovakia; and in November, 1921, it was given the right to bore. In Central and South America this Standard Oil Company has

also been active. In January, 1922, the Standard Oil Company of California purchased one-quarter of the interests of the Vanderlip concession in Siberia. This concession had been obtained by Washington Vanderlip from the Soviet Government in October, 1920. It covers territory in Siberia, including Kamchatka, of 400,000 square miles, in which the Vanderlip syndicate has the exclusive right to exploit all oil, coal and fishing resources. In April, 1922, the Sinclair group secured oil rights in Portuguese West Africa, and in October it secured a concession from the Soviet Government for the fields in Northern Sakhalin. On the other hand, British interests in August, 1922, obtained an oil monopoly in Macedonia, and in October, 1922, a similar monopoly in the Ukraine.

THE FAILURE OF THE GENOA CONFERENCE

Another scene in this drama of economic diplomacy was laid at the Genoa conference last Spring. The failure of this conference was due to many causes, not the least of which was the question of Russian oil. Before 1914 the Russian fields had been controlled for the most part by foreign interests. The Royal Dutch-Shell controlled 40 per cent. of Russia's production, through its acquisition of the Rothschild interests in Baku and its fields in Grosny and Emba. The Standard Oil and the Anglo-Persian company held stock in the Nobel interests, and the Belgians claimed to have a billion dollars invested in Baku. The French had some interests in the Caucasus.²

Following out its nationalization policy, the Soviet Government had confiscated these oil fields. But it soon realized that it had neither the capital nor the experts to develop them. The production of the Russian wells fell off one-half of what it was before the war. When the Soviet Government realized its own inability to exploit these fields, it at first proposed to lease them to an operating group composed of the Royal Dutch-Shell, the Standard Oil and the Anglo-Persian companies. It was willing to distribute 50 per cent. of the stock to this group, 25

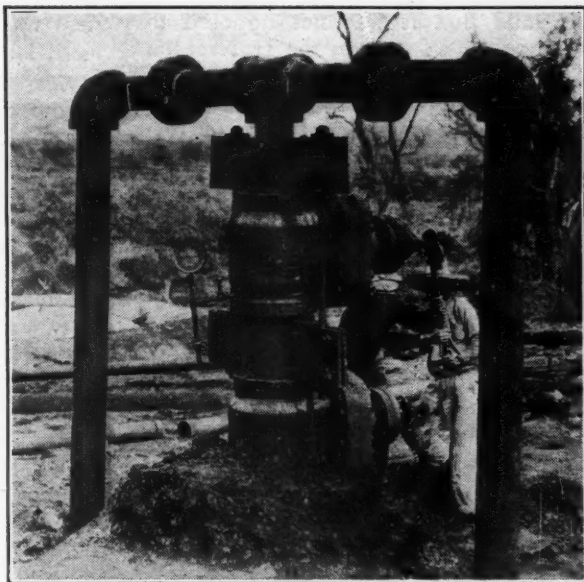
² See Apostol and Michelson, "La Lutte Pour le Pétrole et la Russie," Payet et Cie, Paris, 1922.

per cent. to the former owners of oil properties which had been nationalized, and 25 per cent. to the Soviet Government. But this proposal was not placed before the American group for its consideration. When the Genoa conference opened, no disposition had been made of the Russian concessions.

In the midst of the conference, French and Dutch papers published what purported to be the terms of a contract between the Soviet Government and the Dutch-Shell, granting the latter company a monopoly. *Le Matin* (Paris) charged that the Soviet planned to turn over to the Dutch-Shell oil properties which before the revolution had belonged to French and Belgian capitalists. The existence of this contract was denied by the Russian and British delegates at Genoa. France was suspicious of this denial, especially since it was admitted by representatives of the Dutch-Shell that negotiations had taken place. On May 20 the French and Belgian delegates signed an agreement for the mutual defense of their oil interests, both delegations refusing to accept mere compensation for properties which had been confiscated by the Soviet and insisting that the identical properties be returned.

During the next month a Franco-Belgian syndicate was formed in Paris under the direction of the French Government for the purpose of protecting the oil interests of the Caucasus. At The Hague conference, which was the sequel to Genoa, this syndicate was successful in forming an international committee which drew up an agreement to the effect that negotiations with the Soviet Government would be carried on by all oil groups in common. In this manner French and British rivalry in the Russian fields was brought to an end.

The chief oil dispute which now remained was that between American and British interests over the oil fields of Mo-



How one of the world's most eagerly sought for products is obtained—capping an oil gusher so as to save the waste of thousands of gallons of the fuel

sul. After protracted negotiations, the settlement of this dispute was reported in November, 1922, when an agreement was reached in London in which the British and French agreed to modify the San Remo oil pact so as to give American interests 20 per cent. of the Mesopotamian concessions.¹

By this time the Turk had shown his teeth. At the Lausanne conference, which opened in November, Ismet Pasha demanded the return of Mosul (under the unratified Treaty of Sèvres a part of Mesopotamia) to Turkey. This meant that neither the British, the French nor the American oil concessions would be worth the paper they were written on. The Turks' demand, originally made in the famous National Pact, was based on the

¹An American corporation, the Barnsdall Corporation, has been given a concession (January, 1923) in the Baku fields. It is reported that the concession has been granted by the Soviet Government and approved by the American State Department. Although this concession, lasting fifteen years and covering 450 acres, is in a field where British interests have been active, it is unlikely that another dispute will arise between the United States and Great Britain, because the concession does not apply to property of foreigners confiscated by the Soviet Government, but comprises former Russian Crown lands.

ground that Mosul was not inhabited by Arabs, and that it was not opposed to Turkish rule. Of course, the real reason for Turkey's insistence on the return of the district was because its oil fields would prove an unending source of revenue to the Angora Government.

But the British stood their ground. Lord Curzon was adamant in his refusal to give up Mosul. In this position he was apparently encouraged by the American "observers," won over by his declaration in favor of the open door and by the previous admission of American interests to the San Remo agreement. In a long note the British delegation pointed out that the Turks are only one-twelfth of the population of Mosul, the Arabs three-twelfths, and the Kurds, another people which the Turks had held in rebellious subjection, six and a half twelfths.

WHY THE TURKS WANT MOSUL

Nevertheless, the economic determinist will probably insist that British policy at the Lausanne conference was influenced solely by oil interests. This explanation is too simple. Undoubtedly there was something incongruous about Lord Curzon's tender regard for the downtrodden Kurds of Mosul, in contrast with his submission to the Turkish position in regard to the Greek deportations in Anatolia and the protection of Armenian minorities. But behind the district of Mosul stands the whole question of Mesopotamia. The power which holds Mosul will control Bagdad strategically and economically. If the Turks get Mosul they will re-establish their rule over Mesopotamia and probably over the whole of Arabia. Such a restoration of the former Turkish Empire no British statesman can contemplate.

No better illustration of the influence of economics on diplomacy can be found than in the case of oil. France and Poland sign a political and military alliance, whose published terms have little to do with commerce or industry. Yet it is not surprising to learn that five French companies control one-half of the Polish oil production and that in Poland British interests have only 27 out of 355 wells. There are many reasons why the British egged on the Greeks in their stupid war

against the Turks. But not the least of these was the grant to the Royal Dutch-Shell, last September, of an oil monopoly in Macedonia. France was more than recompensed for signing the San Remo agreement in the Spring of 1920, because thereafter the British stopped supporting King Feisal in his campaign for the independence of Syria from French rule. In 1920 Japan seized Northern Sakhalin, Russian territory, as security for the settlement of a massacre of Japanese at Nikolaievsk, a city on the Siberian coast. The Japanese Navy Department set about at once to exploit its very valuable oil fields, and, although the Japanese troops have withdrawn from the Siberian mainland, they are today in Northern Sakhalin.

Many will characterize these struggles over oil as mere economic imperialism. Yet today the world stands in need of fuel, and will need it increasingly in the future. The countries in which undeveloped oil fields remain cannot of themselves bring them into production. By its nature the oil business requires the expenditure of vast sums of money, the running of great risks, and the application of expert knowledge. Only the so-called "capitalist" countries can bring the fields found among backward peoples into production. How shall this development take place? Shall it be by means of a wild scramble for national monopolies? Or is it possible to work out a form of international co-operation which will prevent international quarrels and at the same time protect the interests of the countries that are exploited? For the time being the world-wide struggle for oil concessions has come to a close. It has been solved by agreements between different national groups. In February, 1922, the Dutch-Shell and the Union Oil incorporated a company in the State of Delaware. French and American interests have formed a joint company in Czechoslovakia. The Anglo-Persian and Standard Oil Companies have formed a similar organization in Persia. And now the Turkish Petroleum and American interests are apparently to co-operate in Mesopotamia. But these private combinations are not extensive enough. They are still based on the principle of a trust, and one which is subject to no international control.

SOLVING GRECO-TURKISH BLOOD FEUDS BY MIGRATION

By M. ZEKERIA

The interchange of Greek and Moslem minority populations in the Near East one of the most momentous decisions of the Lausanne conference—Intensity of mutual national hatred makes this the only solution—Favored by both peoples

THE decision to exchange the Greek minorities now resident in Turkish territory for the Mohammedans in Greece is one of the most important settlements of the Lausanne conference. This decision has created a world-wide sensation; it is an episode of modern history that will affect the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. Under the present plan adopted by the conference, Greeks by the hundred thousands are to be brought from Asia Minor to the mainland of Greece. At the same time, Turks leaving their homes in Macedonia are to be brought to Anatolia to occupy the homes of the Greeks exiled from Asia Minor. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, who was sent to Anatolia by the League of Nations, estimates the numbers of people involved in this decision as high as about 1,000,000, half of whom are Greeks and the other half Moslems.

This is the first time in modern history that a peace conference has issued a decree to remove people from the land they have occupied for centuries. What is the reason of this project of wholesale exchange, which is accepted not only by the Turks but by the Greeks and by the Allies as well? Why did the conference unanimously admit that the only solution of the minority question in the Near East is interchange?

The Christian minority question is largely misrepresented and consequently misunderstood in this country. In order to get a clear idea of the present deplorable situation and to form a judgment about the question it is necessary to have a historical background of the facts. First

of all, one must realize that Eastern and Western conceptions of State and Church are entirely different. Government and religion have been considered as essentially one in the East. The unification of Church with State has been a rule not only with the Turks, but with the Christians as well. The Sultan, the temporal ruler of Turkey, was at the same time the Caliph, the religious head of the Moslems. Similarly, the non-Moslem communities were organized under their religious heads. The Turks gave the same right to their non-Moslem subjects, and permitted them to organize similar organizations, under the headship of supreme ecclesiastical authorities possessing both temporal and spiritual power. Thus under the Turkish rule a number of independent communities existed side by side. The Armenian community was organized under the Catholics of the Gregorian Church, the Jewish community under its Grand Rabbi, and the Greek community under the Ecumenical Patriarchate. These communities were independent in many civil and religious affairs. The heads of the non-Moslem communities had authority to deal with the questions of marriage, divorce, tutelage, inheritance, and so forth, of their respective communities. In order to deal with these questions they had, besides their religious organizations, private courts, schools and hospitals. They even had authority to interfere with the Turkish Government whenever the interest of their community necessitated it. They were considered by the Turkish Government as the supreme authority in matters concerning their community affairs. The Turkish Government

maintained its relation with these communities through their religious heads.

THE RISE OF NATURAL HATRED

Under this community system, Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Jews lived as peaceful neighbors for centuries. But as soon as the nationalism of the West and the imperialistic intrigues of Europe entered the Near East, these peaceful relations between the Moslems and the non-Moslems disappeared. Nationalism appeared first among the Greeks. They united around their Patriarchate and began to organize secret societies against the Turkish Government, in order to get their independence. The European powers, who followed special interests and concessions, favored this movement and encouraged the Patriarchate in its political activities. The Greek example was followed by the other Christian communities, and the European powers, under the pretext of being the protectors of the Christians, used them as pawns for their selfish political interests. Russia, under the promise of independence, used the Tashnaksotian Committee, an Armenian revolutionary society which organized the revolt of the Turkish Armenians during the World War, as a tool in her hands; France provoked the Syrian Catholics against the Turkish Government, and Phanar was the centre of the Greek agitation. There is the real cause of the Near Eastern trouble and of the atrocities and counter-atrocities in Turkey.

The new idea of nationalism and the political intrigues of Europe have estranged the different religious communities, and have even created a hatred between the Turks and other communities. The tragic episodes of the last World War and the Greco-Turkish War have increased this animosity to the utmost degree. This hatred is not a religious hatred, but a national one. The Armenians in the eastern provinces of Turkey, states General Mayevsky, the Russian commander on the Turkish-Russian front, in his book "Armenian Massacres," which contains his reports to Russian General Headquarters, massacred hundreds of thousands of Turkish inhabitants of the eastern provinces. The Turks avenged this massacre by killing and deporting hun-

dreds of thousands of the Armenian inhabitants of the same provinces. In this reciprocal massacre the loss of the Turks is not less than that of the Armenians. Then the Greco-Turkish War occurred. During this war the Greeks living in Constantinople, in the occupied area, and in Pontus, on the Black Sea shores, openly joined the Greek Army and fought against Turkey. The Ecumenical Patriarchate became a political centre for agitations. The Patriarchate collected money for the Greek Army, enrolled volunteers from among the Constantinople Greeks and carried on an active propaganda against the Turkish Nationalists. The Greeks of Asia Minor, not satisfied with joining the Greek Army, destroyed and devastated all the territories that they had occupied, burned and pillaged hundreds of villages and killed thousands of innocent inhabitants. The International Red Cross workers, who visited Asia Minor after it had been evacuated by the Greeks, in their reports recently published in this country, say: "Involuntarily our thoughts were taken back to Pompeii and Messina; but while the annihilation of those cities was due to natural causes, the destruction of the villages of Anatolia, situated at considerable distance from the front, has been, to say the least, methodically perpetrated by Greeks in the heart of the twentieth century."

BOTH PEOPLES DESIRE INTERCHANGE

These facts have created an atmosphere of mutual distrust and infinitely increased the already existing national hatreds. Both the Turks and the Greeks are firmly convinced that it is impossible for them to continue to live as peaceful neighbors in the future. The Greeks do not wish to live under Turkish rule, nor are the Turks willing to keep them under their rule. On the other hand, the Turks living in Greece have been submitted to a policy which is equivalent to extermination. Particularly since the arrival of the Greek refugees from Asia Minor, the life of the Macedonian Turks has become unbearable.

In brief words, torture and oppression have been reciprocal between the two peoples. Under these conditions the future is

not very promising either for the Turks or for the Greeks. The maltreatment of the Turks in Greece would invite the complaint of Turkey and the ill-treatment of the Greeks in Turkey would be used as an opportunity for interfering in internal Turkish affairs. The best solution for this difficult problem, therefore, is the exchange of the Christian minorities who prefer Greek rule to Turkish rule, for the Turks who prefer Turkish rule to Greek rule. This solution was considered the best means for securing a permanent peace in the Near East, not only by the Turkish Nationalists, but by the Greeks, and even by the League of Nations as well. And it is remarkable that the initiative to that effect came from the League of Nations, not from the Turks.

As soon as Asia Minor was evacuated by the Greeks, Dr. Nansen, as the representative of the League of Nations, went to Constantinople in order to propose the exchange of the Christians in Turkey for the Mohammedans in Greece. As military operations were not yet over at that time, he could not proceed to Angora, where he intended to discuss the problem with the Great National Assembly; and so he negotiated with Hamid Bey, the Constantinople representative of Angora. Dr. Nansen made three proposals to Turkey: (1) The exchange of the Greeks of Asia Minor for the Moslems of Greece; (2) the exclusion of the Constantinople Greeks from the exchange; (3) the exchange to be voluntary and to begin immediately, without waiting for the conclusion of peace.

The Turkish point of view was different in this question. The Turks were in favor of the exchange, but they were not willing to exclude the Greeks of Constantinople, and opposed the exchange of the Mohammedans of Western Thrace, where they contended that the Turks are in a majority, and that therefore the exchange of minorities does not apply to them.

The negotiations between the Turkish and the League representatives began on Nov. 1, 1922. On Nov. 20, when the Near East Peace Conference was opened, the discussions were transferred to Lausanne.

This proposal for the exchange of the

Christian minorities of Turkey for the Mohammedans in Greece, it may be pointed out, is not a new one. In 1914, immediately after the Balkan War, Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister at that time, made the same proposal to the Turkish Government. Both parties discussed the question and agreed in principle to exchange some of the Turkish Greeks in Asia Minor for the Mohammedans of Macedonia. The negotiation progressed to the point where committees were elected for the evaluation of the lands and properties of those who were to be exchanged. The outbreak of the World War, however, interrupted the discussions.

DECISIONS AT LAUSANNE

At Lausanne not only the Turks, but the Greeks and the Allies, approved the proposal made by Dr. Nansen. The Near East Peace Conference so far has decided:

1. To exchange the Greeks of Asia Minor for the Moslems of Macedonia;
2. To exclude the Greeks of Constantinople and the Turks of Western Thrace;
3. To ask the same minority guarantees from the Turks for the other Christian minorities who will remain under Turkish rule as those given by Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and so forth, under the post-war treaties.
4. To permit the Greek Ecumenical Patriarch to remain in Constantinople, on condition that he be shorn of all political power.

There is another group of Greeks, however, living in the interior of Asia Minor, who, not being reached by European intrigues, have remained loyal citizens of Turkey both in war and in peace. These are Turkish speaking Orthodox Greeks, who are willing to stay in Turkey, and who, consequently, will not be affected by the exchange project. But they solved their troubles by themselves, by seceding from the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, and by establishing, under the leadership of Papa Eftim Effendy, a national independent church in Asia Minor.*

*For the view that Papa Eftim may be "an accomplice in an ingenious fake," see Dr. Arnold Toynbee, "The Western Question in Greece and Turkey," page 195.—Ed.

Up to 1815 the spiritual jurisdiction over all the Christians of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Turkey was exercised by the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople. In 1815 the Serbians declared their independence and instituted their national church, seceding from the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople.

After the Greek revolution and the independence of Greece, the Rumanians and Bulgarians also established independent national churches. As the result of these continual secessions the Greek Patriarchate has lost its prestige over the Orthodox Christians of the East. And now the Greeks of Anatolia are following the example of the others.

The exchange of the Greeks on the one hand, and the institution of a national church in the interior on the other, will end the authority and consequently the political intrigues of the Greek Patriarchate, and will prevent the European powers from using the minorities as tools for their imperialistic ambitions in the future. From that point of view, although it is deplorable to transfer hundreds of thousands of people from the lands where they have lived for centuries to the countries where they belong, it is the only practical solution for settlement of the Near Eastern trouble. Certainly it is better than continual war.



THE GREEK ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE IN TURKEY

By CLAIR PRICE

The Patriarchate under Turkish rule in the past, and its position under the new Turkish Government of the future—Rise of a new Turkish Orthodox Church—Constantinople Patriarch to be shorn of all political power.

THE future of the Greek Ecumenical Patriarchate has become one of the most difficult items in the Turkish settlement. Although the Patriarchate has not the supreme status of the Papacy or the Caliphate, a function of initiative and presidency has attached itself to the institution, and it may be said to be the foremost of the Patriarchates which minister to the 120,000,000 communicants of the Orthodox Church. The old Byzantine Empire ceased its existence as an independent entity when the Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, but it has lived on as an ecclesiastical, commercial and political force in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and there is still to be seen in the Patriarch's official residence a painting representing Sultan Mohammed the Conqueror, in his robes of state, handing the Patriarch Gennadius Scholarius the imperial charter which conferred the rights enjoyed ever since by the Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire. Ever since 1453 the Ecumenical Patriarch has been an official of the Sultan's Government. In latter days, since the introduction of constitutional government at Constantinople, the heads of the non-Moslem communities in the Ottoman Empire, of which the Ecumenical Patriarch is the most important, have been officials of the Ministry of Justice in the Sultan's Cabinet. This historic relationship, however, was broken off by the Patriarchate on March 9, 1919, in a note which drew a protest from the Ottoman Government. Since that date there have been no relations between the Patriarchate and the late Ottoman Government, and a difficult

question now arises concerning the Patriarchate's position under the Government of the Grand National Assembly at Angora.

If you traverse the narrow winding streets of Stamboul, following the Golden Horn, you will find the seat of the Patriarchate in the Greek suburb of Phanar, out near the ancient wall which protects the landward side of the triangular city. Here, amid an imposing yellowish group of buildings backed by the red brick Greek college on the hill behind, stand the Greek Cathedral of St. George and the official residence of the Patriarch. The cathedral, especially, is replete with tangible memories of the past. It contains, among many other relics, a pulpit and Bishop's throne, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, which was formerly in the Cathedral of St. Sophia (now the Mosque of Ayiah Sophia) and which is said to have been used by St. John Chrysostom when he was Patriarch. It contains, too, an ikon in mosaic removed from St. Sophia, representing the Virgin Mary, and another mosaic of St. John the Baptist. Its memories and its usages alike go back to the days of the Byzantine Empire. The Sheriat, or sacred law of Islam, enjoins that non-Moslems in Moslem lands must be secured in their liberty to practice their religion, not only as to its rites, but as to its marriage and inheritance laws, its schools, its religious endowments, and so forth, and that in these respects non-Moslems must be ruled by their own authorities. These rights were confirmed by Mohammed the Conqueror immediately upon his capture of Constantinople, and

the Ecumenical Patriarchs at Constantinople have continued to exercise them, as well as the Patriarchs at Jerusalem and Alexandria (and more recently, since the Bulgarian schism, the Bulgarian Exarchate), on behalf of the Orthodox communicants in the Ottoman Empire, down to March 2, 1919.

ORTHODOX BLOC UNDER PATRIARCHATE

It was the so-called Great Schism between the Roman and Orthodox Churches which probably made possible the capture of Constantinople by the Turks and the resultant removal of the Ecumenical Throne from the Cathedral of St. Sophia, the Orthodox submitting to the Turks in preference to accepting the aid of "the shaven priests of Rome." That schism has tended to perpetuate itself through the more recent history of Christianity, the old régime in Russia and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople having laid the foundations of an Orthodox bloc in the East as opposed to the Roman bloc in the West. The schism is a deeply ingrained one, manifesting itself not only in doctrine, but in hierarchical differences. The Roman bloc finds its supreme head in the Papacy, but the Orthodox bloc is a group of quite independent churches, each under its own Patriarch—the four ancient Patriarchates and the more modern Patriarchates of Russia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and so forth. In this structure, the Orthodox Church is very like the Anglican Church, which also consists of a group of independent churches—the Irish, Scottish, Welsh, American and South African Churches—under the primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Despite doctrinal differences, this structural likeness has produced an affinity between the Anglican and Orthodox communions, and doctrinal disquisitions began before the war at the Patriarchate in Moscow with a view to the removal of such doctrinal differences as proved removable, and the extension of the apostolic succession enjoyed by the Orthodox Church to the Anglican communion. This program was a factor in the secret Anglo-Russian agreement of 1915, by which the British Foreign Office acquiesced in Russia's intended annexation of Constantinople, but the Rus-

sian collapse in 1917 transferred the venue of Anglican-Orthodox interests to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople.

Under the leadership of M. Venizelos, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the independent Orthodox Church in Greece made common cause. The former broke off its relations with the Ottoman Government on March 9, 1919, in readiness for the Greco-Turkish war, which began with the occupation of Smyrna by Greek troops on May 15, 1919.

THE NEW TURKISH ORTHODOX CHURCH

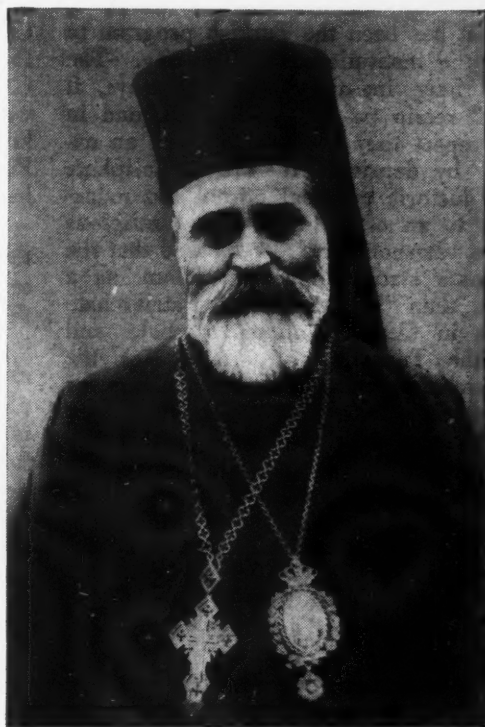
As a result of that occupation, the Turkish Grand National Assembly which was convened on April 23, 1920, at Angora, was petitioned late in 1921 by sixty-eight Orthodox churches in the interior of Asia Minor, whose Metropolitans had fled to Constantinople on the outbreak of the Greco-Turkish war, for permission to set up an independent Orthodox Church in Turkey, with its Patriarchate at Caesarea in Asia Minor. In line with the usages which had prevailed at Constantinople, the Minister of Justice at Angora drew up an act creating the so-called Turkish Orthodox Church, but with such changes in its rights as would bring it within the National Pact. The Assembly's Government has made it its first concern, in laying the foundations of the new Turkey, that religious and political functions should be as sharply separated as possible, both in the Moslem community itself and in the non-Moslem communities. In this endeavor it has had deeply rooted tradition to contend with, and its policy has introduced a new and unprecedented factor in the Near East. In line with this policy, it created the Turkish Orthodox Church as a purely religious body, deprived of the political functions which the Ecumenical Patriarchate had long enjoyed.

The Angora Government further forbade the teaching of the Greek language in the Orthodox schools in Asia Minor, and the schools were accordingly closed on March 1, 1922; the pupils were sent to the Government schools. Orthodox matters of inheritance were placed by it under its own Government courts, and its own judges were empowered to try the cases under Orthodox law, just as British judges in

India try certain cases under Moslem law. It created of the new Orthodox Church a purely religious body, as contrasted with the mixed politico-religious character of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, and it ordained, as an innovation typical of the new régime, that Orthodox clergy belonging to the new independent Orthodox Church should wear their ecclesiastical dress, i. e., the tall cylindrical black hat and the black robe, only while engaged in their ecclesiastical duties; at all other times they should wear the ordinary dress of any other subject of Turkey.

There are a number of grave canonical difficulties about the new independent Orthodox Church, chief among them the fact that it contains no ecclesiastical dignitary of sufficient rank to induct its Patriarch or Metropolitan, whichever rank he is to be given, into office. But canonical difficulties have so far had to be temporarily overlooked. Its chief practical effect has been the secession of its communicants from the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, which, since Greece won its independence a century ago, has been Turkey's strongest internal political enemy. The frontal blow it dealt the Ecumenical Patriarchate was soon to be followed by a blow from the rear. M. Venizelos having been exiled by the adverse Greek vote of November, 1920, Athens and the Patriarchate were estranged, and a rump session of the Holy Synod elected his Holiness Meletios Metaxakis—Meletios IV.—to office, an election which Athens refused to recognize until after King Constantine had abdicated in the Venizelist revolution of last November.

Meanwhile, the Greek flight from Smyrna had removed thousands of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's communicants from the coasts of Asia Minor, and the Greek flight from Constantinople which began soon afterward further diminished



(Keystone)

MELETIOS IV.

Archbishop of Constantinople and Patriarch Ecumenical. His name as a layman is Metaxakis

the number of his flock. Under present circumstances his only communicants are the Greeks who remain in Constantinople; and they are leaving rapidly.

Under these circumstances the future of the Patriarchate at Constantinople arises for settlement as part of the general Turkish settlement. It is agreed that the present Patriarch will have to go, since the usage under the conditions laid down by Mohammed the Conqueror has been that the Patriarch is appointed by the Ottoman Government from a list of three candidates submitted by the Synod. Since Mgr. Meletios was elected to the office of Patriarch direct, it is expected that he will shortly resign, the Patriarchate to be held by a locum tenens pending a decision as to its future status.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate having been an openly hostile political power in

Constantinople since its break with the late Ottoman Government on March 9, 1919, it has been the Turkish program to expel the institution from the city. The Turks have insisted that, if it stays, it should retain no political power, and in this respect they have already set an example by depriving their own Caliphate of its historic political power and reducing it to an office of a purely religious nature. It should be remembered that the Caliphate stands higher in Islam, as a whole, than the Ecumenical Patriarchate stands in Christendom as a whole, and that the Turks are proposing for the Patriarchate a reform less momentous for Christendom than the reform they have already achieved in the Caliphate of Islam. With respect both to the Caliphate and the Patriarchate, they are attempting to separate the religious and political functions in Turkey as we Americans long ago separated them in the United States.

The allied reply to the Turks, as voiced on Dec. 26 last by the British and French delegates on the minorities sub-commission at Lausanne, stipulated the retention of the Patriarchate in Constantinople, but suggested that it be deprived of all religious and political authority in Turkey, religious authority over the Orthodox in

the country to be vested in the Patriarch of the new independent Turkish Orthodox Church at Caesarea, much as the Serbian Patriarch heads the independent Orthodox Church in Yugoslavia. Presumably this would give the Ecumenical Patriarch a kind of Papal standing among the other Patriarchs, a standing which heretofore has been foreign to the Orthodox Church.

As this is being written, the Turks have the allied reply under consideration.* It seems probable, however, that whether the Patriarchate be permitted to remain in Constantinople or not, it will not again exercise political rights in Turkey, for the program of the new Turkish Government is to separate the religious and political function in the various Christian communities, as well as in the Islamic community, and to shake off the Byzantinism which brought the old Ottoman Government down to its end.

*Agreement on this question was reached by the Lausanne conference at the session of Jan. 10, when Ismet Pasha, head of the Turkish delegation, announced that the Turks would agree to the Greek Patriarchate's remaining in Constantinople, but solely on condition that it be shorn of all administrative and civil functions. Regarding the new Turkish Orthodox Church movement, see the footnote to the article by M. Zekeria, "Solving Greco-Turkish Blood Feuds by Migration," published elsewhere in these pages.—ED.



GREECE UNDER THE REVOLUTION

By ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

Editor Atlantis, Greek Daily

A record of the Greek revolution from its origin to the present—Bitter disappointments of the Greek people over the failure of the Revolutionary Government to fulfill its promises—Inauguration of a regime of oppression

WHEN Greece in 1917 entered the European war in the wake of a Venizelist revolution started in Saloniki, few people imagined that she would have to enter the peace in 1922 to the accompaniment of another Venizelist revolution, coming this time from the island of Mytilene. Yet this is what happened. The circumstances were as follows:

Exactly one month after the collapse of the Greek front in Asia Minor, which occurred on Aug. 26, Athens was startled by a message scattered all over the capital by a military airplane. The message was a brief one, and stated that the army, feeling itself betrayed at the front, had decided to take the law into its own hands, and to declare a revolution against the whole governmental régime, including the King, the Ministry and the National Assembly. The revolutionary army was already on the way to Athens to abolish the whole dynastic and political make-up of the kingdom.

This manifesto was issued from the island of Mytilene, where the bulk of the southern Greek army took refuge after the Asia Minor débâcle. What the revolutionaries demanded was the immediate abdication of King Constantine, the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the appointment of a Government enjoying the confidence of the Allies. The manifesto was signed by two hitherto obscure army officers, Colonel Stylien Gonatas and Colonel Nicholas Plastiras, and by a naval man, Captain Phokas.

Twenty-four hours later the demands of the revolutionaries were accepted *in toto* by all concerned, so that when the advance guard of the revolution, having

landed at Laurium Bay, reached Athens, it found that Constantine was now a mere citizen, while Premier Nicholas Triantafylakos, who had accepted the charge of the Government only a few days earlier from the hands of the Gounaris-Stratos-Protapadakis coalition, was awaiting the arrival of the leaders of the new régime, so as to transfer his power to them. This proved to be an easy matter, inasmuch as the revolutionary triumvirate had already decided to take full charge of the situation, although they appointed an elderly gentleman by the name of Soterios Krokidas to be Premier, at the head of a Ministry of figureheads.

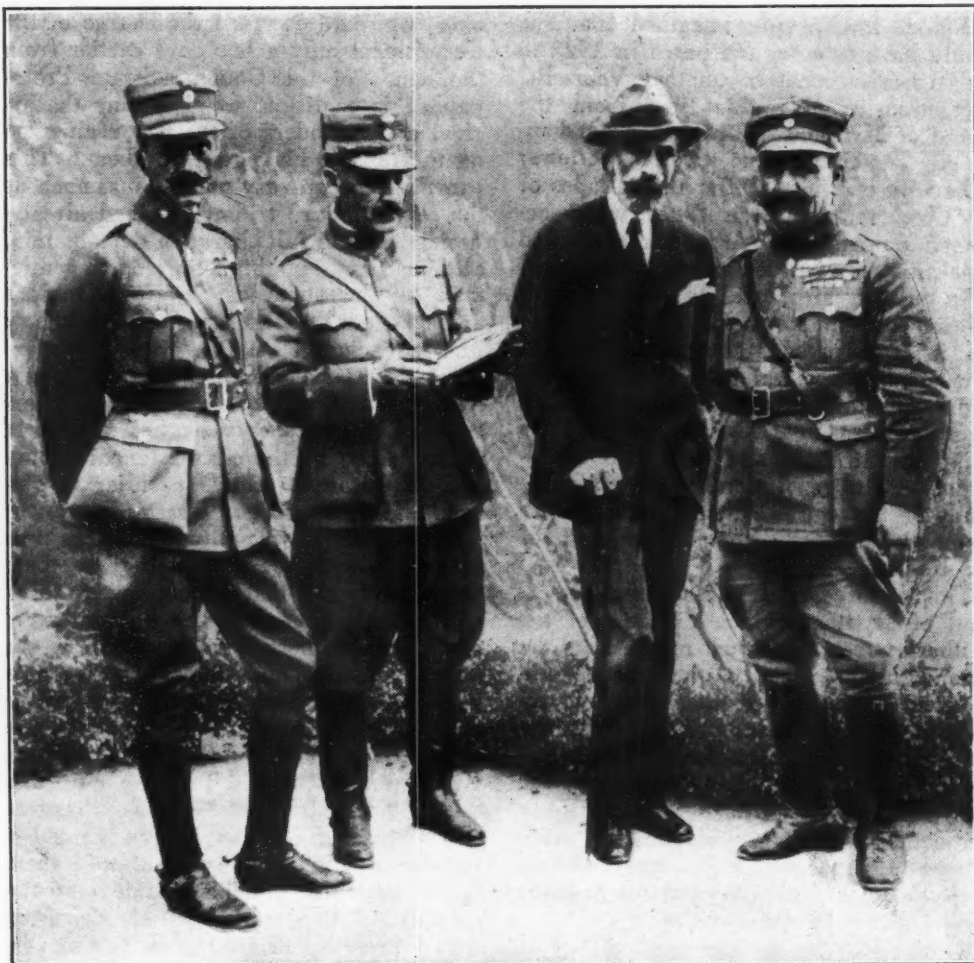
That the Greek people accepted the new state of things without any display of excitement one way or the other can easily be explained by the circumstances attending the outbreak of this peculiar revolution. The Asia Minor disaster was overwhelming in its magnitude; Athens was swarming with the first refugees; there was not a family that did not have to think of its own people first, the husbands and boys and brothers who belonged to the defeated army, and whose whereabouts were mostly unknown in the first weeks of the general collapse. At that time any one with sufficient daring had only to walk into Athens and take the city, and this is precisely what Gonatas, Plastiras and Phokas did. The people wanted a scapegoat, and the revolution told them that Constantine and his régime were the culprits. A tired nation, utterly disgusted with everything, decided to let bygones be bygones and to turn a new leaf under the guidance of a new set of men who loudly proclaimed that they were neither Veni-

zelists nor anti-Venizelists, but simply Greek patriots eager to help save whatever was still to be saved from the great disaster.

Within a month after the establishment of the revolutionary régime in Athens the Greek people found, much to their disappointment, that the revolution failed to correspond with expectations. The new régime had promised to save Eastern Thrace by all means—that was a cardinal point. Colonel Plastiras, the strong man of the triumvirate, on reaching Athens had stated publicly that as soon as Constantine had left the country and the National Assembly dissolved he and his companions

would entrust the affairs of the country to a Government enjoying the confidence of the Entente and leave immediately for the Thracian front. A few weeks later Plastiras left Athens, but he went to Mudania, where Thrace was sacrificed following a peremptory order by M. Veizelor, the Greek delegate at large, then residing in Paris.

The loss of Thrace was such a bitter disappointment that the Revolutionary Committee immediately proclaimed a general censorship over the Greek press, which was forbidden to comment on the failure of the revolution to fulfill its promises.



The Revolutionary Committee that overthrew the constitutional régime in Greece. Left to right: Colonel Plastiras, Colonel Gonatas, Captain Hadjikyriakos (of the navy), Colonel Konroussopoulos.

Another thing the revolutionaries promised was to give the country a strong Government to deal with the serious situation cropping up from the Asia Minor disaster. Instead of that the new masters of Greece gave the country the weakest ministry Greece has had for years, while at the same time they subjected that Government to the Revolutionary Committee, which turned out to be an agency of terrorism and oppression such as the Greek people have never seen in their country. The chief occupation of this Revolutionary Committee is today the running down of the anti-Venizelist party by all means, fair or foul, mostly foul. That the former régime was not made up wholly of saints that we all grant. No political régime is ever made exclusively of saints. The Revolutionary Committee, however, assumed that all those who came out as opponents of Venizelism were traitors and criminals and it regulated its policy accordingly. The execution of the three ex-Premiers, two former Ministers and the late commander of the Greek armies in Asia Minor, and the degradation of two other former Ministers were the culminating point of this terroristic policy.

These butcheries, committed as they were in a spirit of wild revenge and with an atrocity unprecedented in the political annals of any civilized country, dealt a crushing blow to the revolution, both inside and outside of Greece. It is true that no paper in Greece was allowed to print any comment on that sextuple shooting, the whole affair being communicated to the press in a single paragraph of seven lines. People in Greece had to get the details of the shooting by way of England and America, and when the Greek Daily Atlantis of New York, which contained the story, reached Greece it was seized by the Revolutionary Committee, which passed an order forbidding that paper to enter Greece. Nevertheless the Greek people by this time know all the truth about the tragedy of Nov. 28, when the ex-Ministers were shot. The result is that while one part of the population is terror-stricken another is busy upon plans of revenge. This is only natural in a country where terrorism has full sway. That the Revolutionary Committee has been impressed by this change in public sentiment is evidenced by

the fact that it has postponed indefinitely the trials of the other alleged perpetrators of the Asia Minor disaster.

Outside of Greece the shootings of the former Ministers created a most painful impression; because, even on the assumption that the men were guilty of the crime attributed to them, they were entitled to a fair trial by their peers. That is the custom in all constitutional, parliamentary, democratic countries. The revolution gained nothing by the killing of the former Ministers, and lost much at a time when it needed every parcel of popularity and good-will it could get in Greece or abroad.

The makers of the revolution have found out that the way they are running things in Greece has not helped their political, diplomatic, military or financial standing. Greece today is completely isolated. Her relations with the Governments of Europe are only a matter of form, and nothing else. The Government of the United States has not extended recognition either to King George or to Premier Gonatas, who took charge after the shootings of the ex-Ministers, when no Greek statesman of either the Venizelist or the anti-Venizelist Party accepted the task of forming a Cabinet supervised by the Revolutionary Committee. No one is willing to grant a loan to a régime created by a revolution and as yet unratified by the free vote of the Greek people.

The Revolutionary Committee does not intend to call a general election, under the pretext that peace with Turkey must be signed first. The fact is that this committee lacks the courage to appear before the voters of the country, after it has broken all its promises. The overthrow of Constantine and of his régime has not changed conditions for the better, as is shown by the fact that the Greek exchange, which stood at fifty drachmas to the dollar in August, has now reached nearly 100. The refugee problem remains unsolved, notwithstanding the magnificent work of the American relief associations. The revolutionary régime has wasted so much time running down its political opponents that it has neglected to give the world at large a real picture of the greatest disaster that befell the Greek Nation in generations. The whole refugee prob-



(Underwood)

COLONEL PLASTIRAS,
Chairman of the Greek Revolutionary Committee and virtual dictator of Greece today

lem has been to such an extent mishandled that one shudders at the idea of what would have happened to those unfortunate victims of the Turk had not America stood by them all this time.

The Revolutionary Committee, which has become the Revolutionary Government, is fully aware of the extent of the popular disappointment and discontent, but instead of removing the causes of this dissatisfaction by a better understanding of the needs of the country, it multiplies its measures of coercion, oppression and terrorization. There is a preventive censorship in Greece, exercised by military officers; such is the rigor of this regime that out of twenty-six dailies published in Athens before the revolution ten only have survived, and they confine them-

selves to publishing official communiqués and fiction serials.

There exists a cable and telegraphic censorship which is extremely severe, while all letters going in or out of Greece, and especially the letters to and from America, are opened unofficially by a steam-jet device that leaves no trace after the letter is sealed again following the inspection. No citizen enjoys the rights recognized by the Greek Constitution, one of the most liberal in Europe. A small group of terrorists reigns supreme in Athens, keeping the King himself a prisoner, and losing ground every day.

Regarding the next general elections, the Revolutionary Committee is to such an extent aware of the inevitable outcome that it has passed an order whereby every male refugee now on Greek soil will take part in the voting, not in order to elect his own representative, because that would not be so bad in a country that has a million refugees, but with the object of affecting the result in different constituencies that are considered doubtful by the revolutionaries. That this distortion of the will of a given constituency by the refugee vote will make these poor people hated and despised is so certain that thousands of these refugees have already declared their unwillingness to become voters. What the average refugee needs today is a square meal, a warm blanket and a solid roof, and if the revolution cannot give him that it will risk losing his vote. It is very doubtful whether the totality of the refugees are Venizelists, in view of the fact that it is daily becoming more apparent that the Asia Minor venture of Venizelos is the original reason for the last Greek disaster.

This, then, is the situation in Greece, as far as we can get it from unbiased sources. Those who favor the revolutionaries are lenient toward their shortcomings and hopeful of the future. But the fact is that Greece will not remain for a long time under the iron heel of two colonels. In the meantime the Hellenic nation has to face the great external struggle in Lausanne and Constantinople, and has still to fulfill a great rôle in the Near East. But that, as Kipling says, is another story.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S ADVANCE TOWARD FEDERATION

By ALEXANDER NAZAROFF

Former Vice Director of General Wrangel's Press Bureau
at Constantinople

Significance of the new treaty of alliance signed by Soviet Russia with three Socialist Soviet republics—The Ukraine, White Russia and the Transcaucasian republics in the compact—Russia now a federated State—Text of the treaty

THE official designation of the Russian Government is no longer "The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic" (R. S. F. S. R.), but "The Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics." This change, which is not merely one of nomenclature, but affects the constitutional structure of the nation, was formally confirmed and ratified by a treaty of alliance signed at Moscow on Dec. 30, 1922, by plenipotentiaries of the Soviet Government and of the three main Socialist Soviet republics on the territory of the former Russian Empire, viz., the Ukrainian, White Russian and Transcaucasian Republics. All four were fused and united by this treaty of alliance into one confederated State, administered from Moscow.

From the legal viewpoint, this amalgamation of the Soviet States has unusual features, showing, as it does, the union of a number of independent republics, previously tied to one another by a series of treaties. The largest of these, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic proper, was already a federated State centralizing under its rule a series of so-called autonomous republics, areas and communes (Bashkir, Voitak, Zyrian, Korel, and so forth). Its domains covered the bulk of the territory of the former Russian Empire in Europe, as well as in Asia. Other independent republics situated in the outskirts of Russia were the Ukraine, White Russia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Bokhara and Khiva. Theoretically speaking, there was a wide difference of

principle between the status of the autonomous units absorbed in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic on the one hand and the independent republics on the other. The autonomous units received their autonomy from the Moscow Government as the result of a unilateral legislative act signed by the rulers of the Kremlin. The independent republics were sovereign States which based their relations with Moscow on bilateral treaties signed by two high contracting parties considering each other as equals.

The first Soviet republic to conclude such a treaty with Moscow was White Russia (Jan. 16, 1920). In virtue of this document the Muscovite and the White Russian Supreme Councils of National Economy and the respective commissariats for army and navy, foreign trade, finance, labor, ways of communication and posts and telegraphs were fused with the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, though the White Russian Soviet retained the right of control. Eleven months later (Dec. 28, 1920) a treaty textually identical with the document just mentioned was concluded between Moscow and the Ukraine. Similar treaties were concluded in 1920 and in 1921 with the Transcaucasian independent republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. It goes without saying that, though they conceded certain of their rights to the Government of Moscow, these minor political units continued to exist as independent entities.)

Such was the legal aspect of the relations between the Soviet republics. Dif-

ferent, however, were the material ties uniting them. In countries where practically all branches of economic life are nationalized, centralization is inevitably one of the characteristics of political life. The exploitation of the Baku oil fields and of the Ukrainian coal deposits, the raising of the tax-in-kind, the administration of production and distribution, depended exclusively upon Moscow. Thus, the Governments of the independent republics could have no sources of revenue of their own, and depended financially upon the allowances granted by Moscow. This centralization, however, went far beyond the limits traced by the treaties. It is sufficient to glance over the collection of decrees issued by the Council of the People's Commissaries in the course of the last two years to understand that practically every measure decreed at Moscow was enforced in Kiev or Baku just as effectively as in Tombov or Tver. Such was the case of all the important reforms; for instance, the substitution of the Extraordinary Commission by the State Political Administration, the new code of criminal and civil laws, and so forth. To show how this was achieved I may cite the example of the fourth session of the Central Executive Committee in Moscow at the end of October, during which important laws were passed affecting labor, the agrarian question, courts of justice, and so forth. The "Presidium of the Central Executive Committee addressed to the Governments of the allied republics a friendly request to the effect that they adopt in their respective countries the laws passed by the Central Executive Committee," says *Izvestia*, on Nov. 1, 1922. Such "friendly requests" have never been disobeyed by the allied republics.

Thus, as a matter of fact, the independent republics were integral parts of Soviet Russia. Under those circumstances it was but natural to incorporate these de facto existing relations into a document which would give them legal sanction. Already in the Summer of 1922 the Central Executive Committee of White Russia, the Ukraine and Azerbaijan formed special commissions for the drafting of a treaty which would provide for the legal unifica-

tion of the independent Soviet republics with the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (*Izvestia*, Nov. 14 and 16). The Soviet Congresses convened in the independent republics in the course of November and December gave the idea of unification their approval, and the representatives from the Ukraine, White Russia, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan were delegated as "honorary guests" to the tenth All-Russian Soviet Congress, which was held in Moscow from Dec. 23 to Dec. 27. This Congress passed a resolution sanctioning the unification of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (created in August, 1922, by the union of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia into one allied confederated State).

The representatives of the respective countries formed special delegations which worked out the definitive draft of a treaty of alliance. Finally, on Dec. 30, the representatives of the four republics who attended the All-Russian Congress opened in Moscow the first Soviet Congress of Socialist Soviet Republics, and approved the treaty, and it came immediately into force. Such, briefly told, is the history of this momentous change.

The treaty gives formal recognition to the centralized political system already in existence. Army and navy, foreign trade, disposition of economic resources, administration of economic life, finances, taxation, ways of communication, and so forth, are classed as "confederal," viz., allied affairs. Foreign affairs, the promulgation of the main laws, the supreme direction of the courts, and supervision over the State Political Administration (i. e., the special police) are included in the same class, which is an important step toward centralization, inasmuch as the individual treaties between Soviet Russia and the rest of the republics did not submit these affairs to the jurisdiction of Moscow.

Moreover, the treaty provides for the formation of the following specifically Federal institutions: The Soviet Congress, the Central Executive Committee, the

Council of the People's Commissaries, the Supreme Court, and so forth, of the Alliance. This is new, for hitherto such institutions did not exist, their functions being carried on by the corresponding institutions of Soviet Russia.

The independent republics, in entering the Alliance, retained their individual freedom and their institutions. They can even, the treaty says, withdraw from the Alliance if they wish to. This is, however, sheer theory. The important fact about the treaty is the reasserted unification of the countries, which cannot exist separately from one another.

The same Congress which passed the

treaty elected the first Central Executive Committee of the Alliance, comprising 270 representatives for Russia, 68 for the Ukraine, 26 for the Transcaucasian Federation, and 7 for White Russia.

It should be noted that two Soviet republics, viz., the Khoreseman People's Soviet Republic and the Bokhara People's Soviet Republic, will remain outside the Alliance, inasmuch as they are not Socialist republics.

The official text of the treaty of alliance, translated from the original Russian text published by the Soviet organ, *Izvestia*, on Dec. 31, 1922, is given in the following pages.

TEXT OF RUSSIA'S NEW TREATY OF CONFEDERATION

THE Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (U. S. S. R.), the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (W. R. S. S. R.), and the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia), hereby conclude this treaty of alliance, which provides for their unification into one allied State—"The Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics"—on the following conditions:

1. The competence of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics, as represented by its supreme institutions, bears on: (a) Representation of the Alliance in international relations; (b) modification of the external boundaries of the Alliance; (c) conclusion of treaties on the admission of new republics into the Alliance; (d) declaration of war and the conclusion of peace; (e) raising of external loans; (f) ratification of international treaties; (g) establishment of fundamental principles regulating home and foreign trade; (h) establishment of fundamental principles and of the general scheme regulating the unified national economy of the Alliance and the conclusion of treaties of concession; (i) regulation of affairs relating to the transportation system, posts and telegraphs; (j) establishment of the fundamental principles regulating the organization of the armed forces of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics; (k) ratification of the unified State budget of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics, the establishment of the currency, monetary and credit systems, and the establishment of the taxation systems for the Alliance and the separate republics and the local taxes; (l) establishment of the general principles regulating the holding of land and the distribution of land holdings, as well as the exploitation of mineral beds, forests and waters in all the territories of the Alliance; (m) general allied legislation relating to migration; (n) establishment of the fundamental principles regulating the judiciary system and of

court proceedings, as well as the criminal and civil legislation of the Alliance; (o), promulgation of the fundamental labor laws; (p), establishment of the general principles regulating public education; (q) promulgation of general measures bearing on the protection of public health; (r) establishment of a common system of measures and weights; (s) organization of an allied statistical service; (t) constitutional legislation relating to allied citizenship and to the rights of foreigners; (u) the right of general amnesty; (v) abrogation of such decrees promulgated by the Soviet Congresses, Central Executive Committees and Councils of the People's Commissaries of the republics forming the Alliance, as infringe on the stipulations of the treaty of alliance.

2. The sovereign power in the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics is held by the Soviet Congress of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics, and, in the intermissions between Congresses, by the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics.

3. The Soviet Congress of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics is composed of the representatives of the city Soviets, every 25,000 electors delegating one Deputy, and of the representatives of the provincial Soviet Congresses, every 125,000 inhabitants delegating one Deputy.

4. The delegates to the Soviet Congress of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics are elected at the provincial Soviet Congresses.

5. The Soviet Congresses of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics are convened once a year; the extraordinary Congresses are convened by the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics, either on its own initiative or on the demand formulated by at least two allied republics.

6. The Soviet Congress of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics elects, from among the representatives of the allied republics proportionately to their respective populations, the Cen-

tral Executive Committee, comprising a total of 371 members.

7. The Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics is convened in ordinary sessions three times a year. Its extraordinary sessions are convened either on the decision of the Praesidium of the Central Committee, or on the demand made by the Council of the People's Commissaries of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics, or else on the demand formulated by the Central Executive Committee of one of the allied republics.

8. The Soviet Congresses of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics and the sessions of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Soviet Republics are convened alternatively in the capitals of the allied republics following a plan of succession traced by the Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics.

9. The Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics elects the Praesidium, which holds the sovereign power in the intermissions between the sessions of the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance.

10. The Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics is comprised of 19 elected members. The Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics elects from among the members of the Praesidium four Presidents of the Central Executive Committee, one for each of the allied republics.

11. The Council of People's Commissaries of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics (the "Sovnarkom" of the Alliance), elected by the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics for the length of the latter's term, is the executive body of the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance. It is composed of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the Alliance, the Vice Chairmen of the Council, the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, the People's Commissary for War and Navy, the People's Commissary for Foreign Trade, the People's Commissary for Ways of Communication, the People's Commissary for Posts and Telegraphs, the People's Commissary for Workingmen's and Peasants' Inspection, the President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, the People's Commissary for Labor, the People's Commissary for Food Supply, the People's Commissary for Finance.

12. With the object of consolidating the revolutionary law in the territories of the Alliance of the Socialist Soviet Republics, and in order to unite the efforts of the allied republics in their struggle against the counter-revolution, a Supreme Court, entrusted with the rights of supreme judicial control, is attached to the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics, and a common organ of State Political Administration is attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the Alliance. The Chairman of the latter institution enters the

Council of People's Commissaries of the Alliance, with the right of advisory vote.

13. The decrees and decisions passed by the Council of People's Commissaries of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics are obligatory for all the allied republics, and they are enforced directly in all the territories of the Alliance.

14. The decrees and decisions passed by the Central Executive Committee and by the Council of People's Commissaries of the Alliance are published in the languages in common use in the allied republics (Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Georgian, Armenian and Turkoman).

15. The Central Executive Committees of the allied republics may address their protests against the decrees and decisions passed by the Council of People's Commissaries of the Alliance to the Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics, without, however, suspending their enforcement.

16. The decisions and orders passed by the Council of People's Commissaries of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics can be abrogated only by the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics or by the latter's Praesidium. Orders issued by individual Councils of People's Commissaries of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics may be annulled by the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics, by its Praesidium and by the Council of People's Commissaries of the Alliance.

17. Orders issued by the People's Commissaries of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics may be suspended by the Central Executive Committees, or by the Praesidiums of the republics forming the Alliance only in exceptional cases, when these orders are in obvious contradiction to the decisions passed by the Council of People's Commissaries or Central Executive Committee of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics. In case of suspension of a decree, the Central Executive Committee or the Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of an allied republic notifies immediately the Council of the People's Commissaries and the appropriate People's Commissary of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics.

18. The Council of People's Commissaries of the republics forming the Alliance comprises: The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries, the Vice Chairman of the Council, Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, People's Commissary for Agriculture, People's Commissary for Food Supply, People's Commissary for Finances, People's Commissary for Labor, People's Commissary for Internal Affairs, People's Commissary for Justice, People's Commissary for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, People's Commissary for Public Education, People's Commissary for Public Health, People's Commissary for Public Welfare, People's Commissary for National Minorities, as well as the representatives of the following People's Commissariats of the Alliance—with consultative vote: Foreign Affairs, War and Navy, Foreign Trade, Ways of Communication, Posts and Telegraphs.

19. The Supreme Council of National Economy and the People's Commissariats for Food

*One of the multiple composites of abbreviated titles which the Soviet Government has popularized.

Supply, Finance, Labor and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of the allied republics, are subordinated directly to the Central Executive Committees and the Councils of People's Commissaries of the respective republics, and they comply in their activities with the orders issued by the corresponding People's Commissariats of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics.

20. The republics composing the Alliance have budgets of their own, representing component parts of the Alliance's budget, which is ratified by the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance. The budgets of the republics, in so far as their revenues and expenditures are concerned, are fixed by the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance. The list of revenues and the sums of the appropriations forming the budgets of the allied republics are fixed by the Central Executive Committee of the Alliance.

21. A uniform citizenship is established for the citizens of the allied republics.

22. The Alliance of the Socialist Soviet Republics has its own flag, coat of arms and State seal.

23. Moscow is the capital of the Alliance.

24. In compliance with the stipulations of this treaty, the allied republics will amend their respective Constitutions.

25. The right of ratifying, amending and completing the treaty of alliance belongs exclusively to the Soviet Congress of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics.

26. Every republic retains the right of unhampered withdrawal from the Alliance.

This treaty was signed by the members of the respective plenipotentiary delegations:

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC (R. S. F. S. R.): KALININ, STALIN, RYKOV, TROTZKY, KAMENEV, MOLOTOV, TZURUPA, SOKOLNIKOV, SAPRONOV, PIATAKOV, BOGDANOV, RUDZUTAK, KURSKY, KHIRALIEV, MENDESHEV, KORKMASSOV, SAID-GALIEV, MUKHTAROV, ENUKIDZE, KHALIKOV, YANSON, MANSUROV, RAKHIMBAEV, SMIDOVICH.

UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC (U. S. S. R.): PETROVSKY, FRUNZE, LEBED, ZATONSKY, SKRIPNIK, YAKOVENKO, BUGAY, SIMONOV, VEASSENKO, PAROIKO, SMIRNOV, ABRAMOV, DUBOVOL, NASHKOVSKY, RAMEIKO, GULY, ZATOR, PAKHOMOV, TUKHA, POPOV, SERBICHENKO, KASHKAREV, KLIMENKO.

TRANSCAUCASIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLICS: TZKHAKAIA, MUSSABEKOV, MIASNIKOV, KIROV, ORZHANIKIDZE, MAKHARADZE, LUKASHIN, AMBARTZUMIAN, MAMULIA, BAKHTADZE, BUNIA-ZADE, ZHATIEV, TER-GABRIELAN, PARUSHIN, ILDRIM, AKUNDA, LAKOBA, KULIEV, AZHARIA, GUSSEINOV, MIRZOYAN, SAFAROV.

WHITE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC (W. R. S. S. R.): CHERVIAKOV, KHODOSH, MOLOKOVICH, SLAVINSKY, GETNER, KHATSKEVICH, PUTNIN, EPSTEIN, AKIRCHITS, BABENKO, BUKHMAN, MILENKY, CRUZEL, IGNATOVSKY, MOROZ, LIOKUMOVICH, FABRITSIUS, CHERNUSHEVICH, NIKITIN, SHOLOKHOVICH, VLADIMIROV, TULUNTIS, LEVIN.

Chairman of the First Congress of Soviets of the Alliance of Socialist Soviet Republics: M. KALININ.

Secretary of the First Congress: A. ENUKIDZE.
Moscow, Dec. 30, 1922.



A FRENCH VIEW OF SOVIET RUSSIA

By EDOUARD HERRIOT

Deputy of the Rhône, Mayor of Lyons, France*

Head of the French economic mission that recently returned from Moscow argues that the Russian revolution has given way to economic reconstruction, and that Russia is evolving toward a conservative peasant republic—On this basis he advocates, under guarantees, a Franco-Russian commercial entente

IN judging the Russia of today, one must believe neither the apologists nor the denouncers. The vast nation which, despite the amputations of its former territory by war still controls the whole area between the confines of Poland or Lithuania and Vladivostok, is now engaged in a crisis of organic transformation, and the rôle of the observer is to distinguish the elements of the future in the midst of this continuous fermentation.

Russia has but just issued from a revolution in comparison with which preceding revolutions, even the French Revolution, seem like the mere breaking of toys. The men who seized power from the weak hands of the Constitutional Democrats and Menshevik Socialists aimed not merely at the liberation of the Russian people from a tyranny too long endured, but at the overthrow of the existing political system of the whole world.

In this aim we recognize the specific character of the Russian as he has been depicted to us by writers of great genius, and particularly by Dostoevsky. The Russian people, freed from Eastern influences only after a considerable struggle, martyred by almost legendary despots, condemned to serfdom, ravaged by invasions coming now from the West and now from the East, constantly constrained, yet neglected, and deprived of education and liberty, have known neither public life nor social apprenticeship. They have known no progressive evolution like that which occurred in England and France. Sudden explosions, lightning flashes; in

the intervals contradictions and incoherences. But after the liberation the Russian mind knew no limits; it assailed the entire world.

As early as 1836 Chaadaiev, in his famous Philosophical Letter, demanded universal revolution. Gogol, in his intimate writings, longed for the day when some new force would lift up all humanity. Tolstoy appeared, apostle much more than writer, and in his turn underwent the great experience which had affected the whole life of Jean Jacques Rousseau. But Tolstoy went even further; the formulae on which our present civilization is based, the theoretical ideas of equality and liberty did not suffice him; his aim was to seek the truth in the depths of the people's conscience. By his incessant attacks on militarism, on money, on the administration of justice, he prepared the way for communism. Add to the effect of his theories the influence of Russian pride, and then add the teaching of Karl Marx, the true

*The return of M. Herriot from Moscow in October, 1922, at the head of a French economic mission to Moscow was hailed as an event of national importance. M. Herriot, Mayor of Lyons and a leader of the Liberal Party in the French Chamber of Deputies, brought back with him to France a conviction that the time was speedily approaching for a Franco-Russian entente, at least so far as a renewal of trade relations was concerned. On the basis of many interviews with the Soviet leaders in Moscow, he declared in public utterances that the Bolshevik Government was ready to meet France half way in an effort at mutual conciliation, and that a recognition by Russia of the French debts was by no means excluded. The seriousness with which the French press discussed the possibility of a reversal of the Government's policy toward Russia, and the likelihood of an eventual rapprochement, was symptomatic of the new trend in France regarding Russia.—ED.

prophet of the Russian revolution—a prophet badly understood—and you will understand the principles animating the formidable movement, whose effects, happily, have been confined to Russia.

The Bolshevik revolution was certainly a frightful occurrence. It was not a revolution based on the principles of democracy, but on a régime of the strictest martial law. It has replaced, or sought to replace, the dictatorship of one class by the dictatorship of another class. It has created a kind of popular autocracy. The Constitution of July 10, 1918, defines the system which is to establish the "Republic of workmen's, peasants' and soldiers' Soviets." Its aim has been "the pitiless extermination of capitalistic exploiters," seizure of the land and its common cultivation, the establishment of obligatory labor and military service. It wished "the complete annihilation of the bourgeoisie." This was no mere metaphor. The traces of the acts of violence committed against the person and against the law of private property are to be found everywhere. Law, justice, liberty were abolished. Innumerable evidences attest the murder of the most innocent beings. I know one father personally whose three sons were assassinated at Petrograd following the denunciation of a sailor, because they expressed their desire to serve on the French front.

And yet I am in favor of a renewal of relations between France and Russia. I have already succeeded in converting a great number of my compatriots to this opinion. My expressions of this idea in vast meetings held in Paris and elsewhere have evoked popular applause. If the French Government still resists concessions in principle, it nevertheless accepts them in detail. It has authorized the Russians to take part in our Lyons Fair. It has permitted a renewal of scientific relations. The Chambers of Commerce of Marseilles and Lyons publicly demand a renewal of commercial exchanges.

How may this apparent contradiction be explained? The first fact to be observed is that even in its excesses the Russian revolution has its excuses. The leaders of armies that have striven to overthrow Bolshevism have been scarcely less blood-

thirsty than the Red leaders. In Petrograd I have seen photographs which picture the savage repressions of the White armies. I have seen the tree on which Yudenich had Communists hanged. I have touched with my fingers the hollows worked in the bark by the rope. Atrocity has been practiced on both sides.

Above all, the revolution has now virtually ended. Trotzky may hurl his threatening ukases from one end of the world to the other, yet the world revolution project has been adjourned sine die. The rift between the Communist International and the Russian State is ever widening. The initial cell is being decomposed, according to the laws of all organic life. No nation consents to perish in order to save its theories. The people's commissaries, who are, in fact, real Ministers, have realized the futility of their former functions. M. Dzerzhinsky, after having played the rôle of the ruthless leader of the Cheka, is now gradually becoming an excellent Minister of Public Works, absorbed by the task of finding rails and ties for his railways. M. Sokolnikov (the Soviet Minister of Finance) is working hard to balance his budget. M. Bogdanov, supreme master of public economy, is publicly appealing for private capital to repair the damage done to industry by State communism.

Lenin, who had been the moving spirit of the revolution, was the first to preach the new economic policy, celebrated under the terse Soviet abbreviation "Nep." During the conference of the Communist Party at Moscow in December, 1921, he pronounced historic words, pervaded with the bluntness habitual with him. "We must turn backward," he said, "and beat a retreat. The concessions we have made are insufficient. Commerce by way of exchanges has not succeeded. The private market has triumphed over us. Let us then draw back in order to continue our offensive. Let us recognize our mistakes. We must look the danger in the face, and we must not conceal from the working class our march to the rear."

M. Lenin, it is true, makes reservations in order to reassure the irreconcilable revolutionists. But there are many Frenchmen who think, like myself, that nothing will check this evolution toward normality.

in a country which wishes to build up a new life and whose leaders are men of great intelligence.

We base our opinion, above all, on the following reasoning: The Russian revolution aimed at combining in a single formula workmen, soldiers and peasants. As a matter of fact, the peasants, who form the immense majority of the nation, have been the only beneficiaries from this operation. Placed in possession of the land, they will wish very soon to obtain its collective possession, or even rights of individual ownership. The evolution of this trend of thought is already very remarkable. A decision of the Council of Commissaries dated May 8, 1922, suppressed the monopoly of the State over the means of agricultural production. Though the ninth congress of Soviets, convened at the end of 1921, ostensibly aimed at maintaining the nationalization of the land, it endeavored to insure stable and regular possession. The decree of May 22, 1922, grants the peasants the right of choosing between different systems: (a) communal possession, with division of the products between the different exploitations; (b) allotment of a piece of land to each agriculturist; (c) a combination of the two systems. Each agricultural community receives the right to dispose of the land according to the will of the majority. A peasant family may be allotted a plot of land clearly defined. (Decree of May 22, 1922, Article 4.)

Thus individualism is being re-established. There has been a partial return to the system of Stolypin, to the régime of Kleinbauer. Individual property does not yet exist, but there is already individual possession. Since the decree of Feb. 19, 1918, which prescribed collective labor, the evolution has been marked. Bolshevik Marxism has beaten a retreat before the power of the peasants.

In my book on New Russia I have given the arguments and facts which indicate, in my belief, that this evolution is and will remain continuous. I can cite here only the essential fact, the transformation of the agrarian régime. Russia is progressing toward the type of a peasant republic; it will therefore, one day or another, become conservative in tendency.

This is why I believe and maintain that France, following the example of England, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Poland, should send to Moscow without delay a commercial delegation, without touching the problem of the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government. I do not believe in the danger of propaganda feared from the admission of a similar Soviet delegation to France and its establishment in Paris. The real danger lies in secret agitators, and not in official delegates. I consider M. Krassin (the Bolshevik Trade Commissioner) as a man worthy of sincere respect, and I regard M. Tchitcherine as a finished diplomat.

I have not yet persuaded all the manufacturers and merchants of my country to accept my view. They are not satisfied with the long-term leases offered by Russia, and they insist on official recognition of private property. My own view is that this insistence would embarrass the evolution of the Russian Government, and shows too little faith in the future. I do not recommend confidence without conditions. Russia in respect to business does not possess the simple rectitude of the English or the Americans. It likes bargaining and does not repudiate disavowal. But those are features of the Russian character as much as of the Bolshevik régime. It is perhaps too soon for actual negotiation; it is not too soon to open conversations.

I believe, then, that in the near future, especially if Russia has a good harvest in 1923, if it can export and consequently obtain some capital, relations between it and France will quietly be renewed. The democratic party of which I am the leader has made this renewal a plank of its platform. We believe that we must have faith in liberty, that violence can be met only with violence, that the day when the Russian revolution and democratic civilization enter into contact civilization will triumph.

To the misdeeds of hatred we must oppose intelligence and patience, the benefits of kindness, moderation and, in the noblest sense of the world, of love. Russia has not yet renewed relations with France. But this reconciliation between the two nations is desired by both peoples. It will be accomplished.

THE WAR CHIEF OF SOVIET RUSSIA



Trotsky reviewing units of the Red Army in Moscow. Though in a uniform of military character, he is not wearing any badge of rank to indicate his high position

RUSSIA'S NEW SILVER COINAGE

By W. HOWARD RAMSEY
Of the American Relief Administration

A currency that is real money—Large quantities being minted in Petrograd, but not placed in circulation—Propaganda on coinage

IN one of the wards of an insane asylum in Moscow reserved for harmless lunatics there is an old man with an intelligent-looking face and with the hands of a skilled engraver. He looks perfectly sane, and the visitors invariably ask, "Why in the world are you in here?"

"The police caught me counterfeiting Soviet rubles," is the reply, "and they decided that no man in his right mind would do anything so unprofitable."

This is only a traveler's tale, but it is one of the sort that is so thoroughly illustrative of conditions that it ought to be true even if it is not. One day last month an American dollar would buy 57,000,000 Russian rubles on the "black bourse," as the unofficial curb market in Moscow is called. In the old days of the Czar, when Russia was on a gold basis, a ruble was worth a little more than half a dollar. On the day that a dollar would buy 57,000,000 paper rubles, therefore, one gold ruble would have been worth approximately 28,500,000 paper rubles.

Yet there are Soviet rubles that are still worth 51.46 cents, rubles which, if one could buy them, would represent a good bargain if purchased at the rate of two for a dollar. The only difficulty is that they are not circulating. These rubles are coined in silver, and, although they bear the date of 1921, one never sees them in the market place or in the banks.

So far as is known, only one set of the new silver coinage has reached the United States, and this was brought over by an American Relief Administration worker who purchased it from a Russian. The latter assured him that he had obtained it from an employe of the mint, from which it had been stolen, and that the thief was safely lodged in jail. To counterfeit 10-

000,000,000 paper rubles may be an evidence of insanity, but to steal a silver one is a serious offense.

The set of silver coins includes five pieces—the ten, fifteen, twenty and fifty kopek and the one-ruble denomination. On the obverse side they bear the emblems of the new Russian Government—a sickle and sledge crossed in front of a rising sun. On either side of the emblem, by a strange irony when one considers that the coins are dated in the year of Russia's most terrible famine, is a sheaf of wheat, while underneath one sees the familiar abbreviation of the Russian State, "R. S. F. S. R."—Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. The inscription about the edge of the coins is the old slogan of communism, "Workmen of the World, Unite!"

On the coins this inscription appears only in Russian characters. On some of the early banknotes, or so-called "money-signs," issued by the Soviet Government, it appeared in Russian, English, French, Italian, and even in Chinese and Japanese.

The reverse of the coins is marked only with the value, the date, the five-pointed star, such as is seen on the woolen helmets of the Red soldiers, and a wreath of oak and laurel leaves.

On the ruble, where the milling would be on a United States coin, there is a statement that the coin contains "4 zolotnik, 21 dolia" of pure silver. In other words, the silver ruble contains about $287\frac{3}{4}$ grains of pure silver, whereas the weight of an American "cartwheel" is 412.5 grains of silver, of .9 fineness.

In addition to the silver coins, the Soviet Government is also minting gold pieces of five, ten and twenty ruble denominations, corresponding in value to



Silver coins minted by the Russian Soviet Government for 10, 15, 20 and 50 kopecks and one ruble. Unlike paper currency, these coins are worth their face value or at least the value of the silver contained in them. There are 100 kopecks to a ruble, which is normally worth 51.46 cents

the corresponding coins of the Czarist régime.

The mint where these coins are made is at Petrograd, in the old Fortress of Peter and Paul. Colonel William N. Haskell, Director of the American Relief Administration's work in Russia, and Dr. Herschel C. Walker, supervisor of the organization's work in Petrograd, were permitted to visit the mint, and found the machinery in full operation. They were also shown considerable quantities of the new coins packed in cases and placed in storage. Dr. Walker describes the mint as follows:

"The mint was founded in 1716, and is a dark and gloomy building. When we visited it the machines making the coins were

of the same type as those originally installed. They appeared very old indeed, but there were modern scales on which the weight of each coin was tested, and those over weight and under weight were automatically separated and discarded.

"It was a grim old place, with deep worn wooden floors and deep worn stone steps. There was apparently plenty of gold and silver on hand. The officials who were guiding us told us that part of its wealth was that taken from the churches. We did not learn how much silver had been coined, but from the quantity of coins already piled up, and from the rate at which the machines were turning out the bright new silver pieces, we judged that it was considerable."



THE JEWISH PROBLEM IN EASTERN EUROPE

By ARNOLD MARGOLIN*

Fate of the Jews after the Bolshevik revolution—The Jewish element in the new States, especially in Poland and the Ukraine—Views of Professor Sarolea on the Jewish minorities in these States—Liberation the sole solution

THE Jews of Eastern Europe of today are far from being homogeneous in their political and national views and sympathies. The Russian revolution, and the resulting chaos and anarchy which ended in the dismemberment of the former Russian Empire, brought a significant change in the structure of East European Jewry.

In Great Russia (Russia in the proper sense, excluding the border States, the Ukraine and Siberia), where the Bolsheviks succeeded in seizing power with hardly any resistance on the part of the population, the proportion of Jews (about 1 per cent. of the 70,000,000 people living in Great Russia) was negligible. The majority of the Great Russian Jews lived in the towns. As a result of the nationalization of industry and trade, they remained without bread, and, consequently, had to choose between starvation or employment in the Bolshevik institutions. The most prominent of the Russian-Jewish intelligentsia who managed to escape from the land of Soviet rule to Western Europe live now for the most part in Paris and Berlin. The influential Russian anti-Bolshevik newspapers and magazines are now published in these two cities, and the majority of their contributors are Russian Jews. Generally, the number of Jews among the most active Russian anti-Bolshevik groups is much larger than in the ranks of the Bolshevik Government. In the past year, after Lenin's declaration of the "new economic policy," the Jewish population of Moscow increased greatly, for Moscow is now the centre of the commercial life of the whole of Great Russia.

What are the proportions of Jewish population in Russia and on its borders? From the viewpoint of numbers and political importance, the Jews in the regions of the Don and Kuban and in Turkestan are not very significant. In Latvia they are more numerous, but politically they are negligible. Still fewer proportionately than in Great Russia are the Jews in Finland, Esthonia, Siberia and in the Caucasus. The great majority of East European Jews lived, and still live, in Poland, Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine.

The Polish and Lithuanian Jews have from the beginning taken a hostile attitude toward Bolshevism and have turned their efforts to the creative task of building up the new national States on the ruins of the former Russian Empire. The Lithuanian Jews have played an especially important part in this work. Rosenbaum, who was the head of the commission which drafted the Lithuanian Constitution and who later became the Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is a Jew. An equally active part in the creation of the Lithuanian State was taken by Soloveichik, also a Jew, who was a member of the Lithuanian Diplomatic Corps abroad.

There were and there are among the Polish Jews many sincere Polish super-patriots, popularly known as "Poles of

*Mr. Margolin has been in close touch with East European affairs since the second Russian revolution of 1917. He is well known as a Ukrainian nationalist, and was Judge of the Ukrainian Supreme Court both under the Ukrainian Central Rada and under Hetman Skoropadsky. During the period of the Directorate Mr. Margolin was for some time Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs. He represented Ukraina at the Paris peace conference in 1919 and headed the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to Great Britain in 1920.

the Mosaic persuasion." The Poles themselves recognize them as "good Poles." Friction began to develop when large numbers of Jews immigrated to Poland during recent decades from the neighboring States of Lithuania, White Russia, the Ukraine, and so forth. This alien population could naturally not adapt itself immediately to the new conditions of life, the language and other unfamiliar features of their new environment.

Notwithstanding the presence of a strong anti-Semitic movement in Poland, the Polish leaders were compelled at the Peace Conference to incorporate in the Polish Constitution the clauses guaranteeing national rights to the Jews. The pogroms in Poland which began in 1919 were stopped after the intervention of Clemenceau, who wrote to Paderewski his celebrated letter condemning pogroms and other anti-Semitic excesses.

THE JEWS OF POLAND AND UKRAINIA

There are today many Jews in both houses of the Polish Government. In the

present Cabinet the portfolio of the Minister of Commerce is held by a Jew. Ashkenazy, the permanent chief representative of Poland in the League of Nations, and an eminent authority on Polish history, is a Jew. If the Jews of Poland are not so active in Government work as the Jews in Lithuania, it is the fault of the Poles, who have discouraged the extensive co-operation of the Jews and who have welcomed only those Jews who are the pronounced advocates of full assimilation with the Poles.

The Jews are in an especially tragic position in Eastern Galicia, in the Vilna district, and in other regions possessing a preponderant Ukrainian, Lithuanian, or White Russian population. These territories are now part of Poland. The Jews find themselves between two fires. The native Ukrainian or Lithuanian population expect the Jews to give them their sympathy and their support in the elections, as against the Poles. On the other hand, Poland keeps a jealous eye on the same Jews, and expects them to support



(Gilliams)

A scene in the Ghetto of Warsaw, Poland—Jewish dealers

her policies. The Poles resent the independent attitude of the Jews, who organized their own political parties and are asking for full Jewish national autonomy, and yet the Poles themselves, who constitute a national minority in the Ukraine, Lithuania, and so forth, have also organized their own Polish political parties and are demanding full national autonomy for Poles in those countries.

In White Russia the Jewish population worked hand in hand with the native White Russian peoples in their efforts to save White Russia from Bolshevik invasion and tyranny. The blame cannot be thrown upon the Jews if these efforts have not met with success.

A most difficult and complicated situation confronted the Jews of the Ukraine. The Ukrainian national movement had its roots in the villages, where the Ukrainian language, national songs, and customs were conserved. In the cities this movement was represented only by small groups of Ukrainian intelligentsia, who resisted the policy of forcible Russification practiced by the Czar's Government. Jews, as urban dwellers, knew little about the Ukrainian question, and could not envisage the real power and importance of this movement which came to light immediately after the revolution of 1917. As early as April, 1917, the Ukrainian National Rada (original Ukrainian Parliament, composed of Ukrainian, Russian, Jewish and Polish political parties) came into existence. The Jewish members of the Central Rada were in accord with the latter's anti-Bolshevist spirit and activity. In the beginning, the Rada asked for the federation of the Ukraine with Great Russia, but after the Bolsheviks had seized the power in Great Russia and dispersed the All-Russian Assembly (Jan. 18, 1918), the Central Rada proclaimed on Jan. 22, 1918, the full political independence of the Ukraine. A large number of the Jewish members of the Rada opposed the complete separation of Ukraine from Russia. The Jewish masses meanwhile stood aside, failing to grasp the complicated and fluctuating political situation.

The Ukrainian Government frankly sought the co-operation of the Jews in its task. The Central Rada formed three spe-

cial Ministries for Russian, Jewish and Polish affairs, respectively. When the Ukrainian Supreme Court was organized, the Central Rada unanimously elected a Jew as a member of this court. When the power was transferred from the Central Rada to Hetman Skoropadsky (May, 1918), a Jew was appointed as Minister of Commerce. The Ukrainian Directorate, which deposed Skoropadsky in December, 1918, appointed two Jews as Assistant Secretaries, and also appointed several Jews as members of its diplomatic missions abroad.

In February, 1919, the Russian Bolsheviks took Kiev and established their nominal supremacy over the Ukraine. Then followed the struggle between the Ukrainian national army and the Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian peasant insurrections, and the appearance of irregular bands, which brought in their wake general suffering and bloody pogroms on Jews. The Bolsheviks accused the Jewish bourgeoisie of being sympathetic to the capitalistic régime; the Ukrainians persecuted them for lack of loyalty to the Ukrainian national movement.

THE VIEWS OF PROFESSOR SAROLEA

It is interesting to compare this short statement about the situation of the Jews in Eastern Europe with the article of Charles Sarolea, Professor at Edinburgh University, "The Jewish Crisis in Eastern Europe," which appeared in the January issue of *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE*.

Some general conclusions about the Jews at which Professor Sarolea arrives are quite true. Naturally, the Jews as a people have no right to claim to have a monopoly of "all private or public virtues." There is no doubt that the Jewish people, like other peoples, include "many undesirable elements." Professor Sarolea also points out the bad influence which centuries of persecution had upon Eastern Jewry. Oppression and slavery always leave their taint.

"Assimilation cannot be a solution," he says, "because the orthodox and conservative Jewish communities refuse to be assimilated." He also says that Zionism is no solution, because Palestine cannot find room; in his opinion, for a number of



(Gilliams)

Types of Polish Jews photographed in the Ghetto of Warsaw

Jews equal even to the Jewish population of Warsaw. And there is no place on the earth suitable for the wholesale migration of the Jews excepting "unoccupied parts of Siberia." The old Jews, however, will not leave Eastern Europe. One would naturally expect the situation to be disturbing to Zionist and other Jewish organizations which believe in the possibility of removing all Jews from Eastern Europe to other parts of the earth.

Professor Sarolea thinks that there are too many Jews "in the body politic of the East European States." "Those new States may not be able to digest the 6,000,000 alien people who are living in their midst and are furthering their national existence," he says. It is not clear what standard he uses to measure the desirable proportion of "alien people" in the East European States. There are many States in this world whose population consists of various nationalities. In the City of Washington, alone, the colored people constitute 25 per cent. of the population, and if some of the white people are not pleased with this fact, it only testifies to

the intolerance of the dominant race toward the colored. The fact cannot be remedied. The colored cannot become white. The transplantation of the colored people to other lands is also out of the question, even in the minds of their enemies.

If the opinion of this writer, that it is impossible for the newly created East European States to live peacefully with the Jews, be correct, then it would testify only to the low degree of culture and social development of the dominant population of these new States. Still more discrediting to these new States is his statement "that the Jews are threatening their national existence." This assertion is without basis, especially as applied to Poland. Professor Sarolea says that "the Poles are naturally easy-going and tolerant." In other words, he places the entire blame for the unfriendly relations between the Poles and the Jews upon the Jews. He forgets that the "tolerant" Poles, during recent years, have practiced economic boycott against the Jews. The "easy-going" Poles made the cutting of

beards from Jewish faces a national sport and the massacring of Jews a common occurrence. But what is the guilt of these Jews? Why were they, and why are they, exposed to such persecutions? Professor Sarolea finds the answer in the sharp difference which exists, according to his opinion, between the Western and the Eastern Jew. He points out these characteristics of the East European Jew which he regards as a menace to the new East European States: "The Western Jew is an internationalist and a cosmopolitan. * * * The Eastern Jew, on the contrary, is a confirmed nationalist. * * * The Western Jew is a progressive and a modernist * * * the revolutionary ferment in contemporary Europe. In Bavaria, in Hungary, in Russia * * * many of the Bolshevik leaders have been Jews. * * * But in Eastern Europe the Jew is a conservative, one might say a reactionary."

Admitting even for a moment the highly doubtful statement that all Polish, Lithuanian and Ukrainian Jewry is conservative and reactionary, it would still be hardly possible to recognize in this characteristic of Jewry a menace to the existence of the new States. But the Jews' chief defect, in the opinion of Professor Sarolea, lies in the fact that East European Jews are "confirmed nationalists," that they have a very great "tribal instinct." "One can understand the difficulty for two nations, with different languages, different religions and different ideas, to live peacefully and harmoniously, the one alongside of the other," he declares. Though he acknowledges the right of the Jews to speak Yiddish, which he calls a "German dialect," he points out that the Poles find it impossible to accede to the request of the Jews to use and recognize "this dialect" in the public schools of the Polish State.

Professor Sarolea speaks at the same time about the very large proportion of Jews in trades and the liberal professions. If there had not been in the former Russian Empire restrictions and regulations, "the majority of the lawyers and doctors of Moscow, Petrograd and Warsaw would have been Jews."

On the one hand he finds that Jews live

huddled in the ghetto, that they are conservative and unwilling to learn the Polish language; and on the other hand he finds fault with the thirst of the young Jewish generation to receive the highest education in the universities of the country where they live! Again he discovers that the "predominant position of the Jews in commerce and finance" will bring harm. But later he says, disdainfully, "it is difficult to imagine the destitution of the bulk of the Polish Jews. * * * They are miserably underfed, they are shamefully overcrowded."

He also sees a possible danger for the Jews in Zionism, which is another "powerful cause of friction to all the other causes of enmity." Finally, he fears that in receiving religious and national rights the Jews in East European States "not only will constitute a State within a State, which might create a very difficult political situation, but they would also constitute a thousand little republics within the Polish Commonwealth."

EXODUS OR DENATIONALIZATION?

After a careful reading of Professor Sarolea's article, one must come to the conclusion that in his opinion there are only two possible solutions for East European Jewry—either their exodus from Eastern Europe or the abdication of their nationality, language and religion and the curtailing of the proportion of Jews who are engaged in commerce and the liberal professions. One fails to see, however, the necessity for limiting the proportion of Jewish physicians, lawyers and merchants when all Jews shall have been thoroughly assimilated with the Poles, Lithuanians or other peoples among whom they represent a minority, for then the Jews would inevitably cease to be Jews.

The Poles, Ukrainians and other peoples emancipated from the oppression of the Czar have inherited in large measure the anti-Semitic policies of the Czarist Government. Oppression and slavery leave their taints; they corrupt both the oppressor and the oppressed. We are ready to recognize that persecution has to a certain degree distorted the soul of East European Jewry. But Jewish persecution

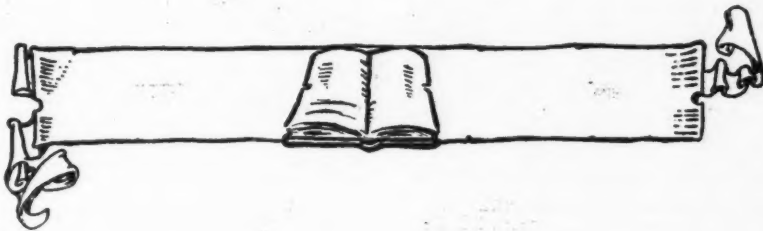
and pogroms have left much more dangerous traces in the souls of the peoples among whom anti-Semitic and pogrom propaganda had been conducted for centuries.

FREEDOM THE REAL SOLUTION

Impartial observers are of the opinion that the bad feelings which now exist between the Jews and their neighbors in Eastern Europe will gradually diminish until they pass altogether, as was the case in the States of Western Europe. The solution of the Jewish problem does not lie in a single remedy. A relatively small number of Jews will go to Palestine. The immigration to America will also continue within the limits of possibilities created by Congressional legislation. But neither of these will sufficiently

decrease the number of Jews in Eastern Europe, for the natural increase in the population will make up for the departing emigrants. The real solution for the bulk of the Jewish population which will remain in Eastern Europe was aptly stated by Professor Sarolea himself in his book "Great Russia," published in 1916 (Knopf):

"They [the Poles and the Jews] must prosper or decline together. It is impossible to liberate the one without liberating the other. It is idle to speak of the resurrection of Poland and at the same time maintain the Hebrew population in perpetual bondage. You cannot erect in Poland a free, self-governing State and at the same time exclude from that State the most enterprising, the most intelligent, the wealthiest section of the community."



EUROPE'S FRENZIED FINANCE

By J. H. WALLIS

Unforeseen effects of breakdown of monetary systems through inflation of currency—How depreciation benefits some and ruins others—Paradox of Germany indirectly levying taxation upon her former enemies

THE feverish activity of European Government printing presses during the past few years has resulted in the production of billions and trillions of units of currency; yet the existence of these colossal amounts on paper has not meant more wealth in houses, factories, machinery, implements, clothing, food, furniture or anything else that is used by human beings. Europe has learned that paper money—genuine money of some of the greatest of nations—is not wealth. On the other hand, if the printing of vast amounts of paper currency does not increase real wealth, neither does it destroy real wealth. Doubtless the printing of paper money causes activities or prevents activities, thereby indirectly bringing about an increase or a failure to increase real wealth, but the actual printing of the paper money means neither more real wealth nor less.

If real wealth is neither increased nor diminished by the increase in paper currency of a country, why are the nations of Europe today so disturbed by their vast issues of paper money? One reads continually of the necessity of stopping inflation, of balancing budgets in order to stop the printing presses. It is clear enough that the inflation of currencies which have lost their exchangeability for gold or anything else of intrinsic value at Government offices, as is the case with European currencies, causes an increase in prices. Prices rise, of course, with more currency. If one hears of prices in France being three times higher than before the war, or in Italy four times higher, or in Germany 200 or 300 times higher, one might be tempted to ask how the people pay such prices. But if all this currency is owned by the people who have to pay the new prices, the

prices do not seem such a burden. Generally speaking, the internal purchasing power of standardless currency, of currency not exchangeable at Government offices for a definite amount of any material or commodity, varies inversely as the amount of such currency outstanding. The more of such currency, the higher the prices. But if the people possess currency in proportion to the higher prices, where are the injuries?

While it may be said that prices within a country having an inflated, standardless currency generally correspond to the degree of inflation, prices rising in proportion to the currency issued, this does not hold good of prices of goods bought in foreign countries with the depreciated currency. The rate of exchange between a country with sound money and a country with inflated, standardless money is more unfavorable to the latter than the amount of money outstanding in it warrants. In 1914, when the German mark was worth par, or 23.8 cents, the amount of paper currency outstanding was 1,890,603,000 marks. On Oct. 31, 1922, the amount outstanding was 468,875,571,000 marks, or, roughly, 250 times as much as in 1914. But, while the mark was about four to the dollar in 1914, at the end of October, 1922, it was 4,500 to the dollar. So, with only 250 times as much money outstanding, the mark, in foreign exchange, had declined to less than one-one thousandth of its 1914 value. It is, one may say, worth less than one-fourth of what it ought to be worth according to the amount of currency outstanding. This is, of course, because other factors than the amount of money outstanding enter into the exchange value of depreciated, standardless currency.

Internal purchasing power, which depends largely but not entirely on the amount of currency printed, is not the only factor affecting the value of a currency in foreign exchange. Another factor is the foreign demand for the money in question, such demand being natural, on account of international trade, or speculative (and there has been much speculation in German marks). Still other factors are the degree of confidence in the Government issuing the money held by foreign nations and the prospect of getting back to some base or standard for the money. An unfavorable balance of trade, lack of confidence in the Government issuing, little prospect of getting back to any base or standard, but instead, an outlook of further depreciation, are factors causing German marks (as well as other Continental money) to be cheaper in foreign exchange than the amount of money printed and the internal purchasing power of the money justify.

HOW TRADE LOSSES ARE CAUSED

The result is that goods in Germany are cheaper than they really ought to be for peoples having sound money. This unjustified cheapness, if it may be called that, has stimulated the buying of German goods by people of countries having superior money, and has kept German industry busy. But the industrial activity produced does not mean genuine prosperity, because, in dealing with countries having better currency, Germany gets less foreign currency, and consequently less real wealth in goods than the goods she trades ought to bring. Thus an inflated, baseless currency results in losses in trade with countries having sound or sounder currency. This applies to countries other than Germany.

Aside from the losses suffered by a country with baseless, inflated currency through a disproportionately unfavorable foreign exchange, there are very real injuries wrought internally. If the increased currency could be equitably distributed immediately on its issue among all the people of the issuing country, it would seem that internal damage would be small. For example, if suddenly a country increased its currency ten times and prices became just ten times as high and every one had

ten times as much money, no one would be injured. But what happens is that the inflated new currency does not flow to people in proportion to what they had before. An unnatural, unjust distribution of money is universal and apparently inevitable when currency is rapidly inflated. Certain classes benefit unfairly; certain classes suffer unfairly. Among those who suffer unfairly may be mentioned persons whose incomes are fixed, or nearly fixed, in units of currency, investors in bonds, preferred stocks and all securities that are obligations for a definite amount of currency not representing intrinsic wealth, bank depositors and all others who have lent money, salaried persons, wage earners, and landlords in countries where rents are limited by law. Among the beneficiaries may be mentioned employers of salaried people and wage earners, borrowers of money, speculators, and tenants in countries where rents are limited by law.

Persons who, when money was sound, had fixed incomes in German marks, Austrian crowns or even in France francs or Italian lire, receive, if their sources of income still fulfill their obligations, the same number of marks, crowns, francs or lire as before. Yet in Germany their money will not buy more than one-two hundred and fiftieth of what it formerly did, in Austria very much less than that, in France possibly a third or less, in Italy perhaps a fourth or less. Thus in the countries with greatly inflated currencies persons with fixed incomes are ruined entirely, while in some relatively better countries they are in greatly reduced circumstances. Investors in bonds, preferred stocks and all other securities (such as mortgages) that are obligations for a definite amount of currency have seen the real value of their holdings melt before their eyes into little or next to nothing. A 100,000-mark bond in Germany before the war was worth \$2,380 in good American money, in gold. Now a person with a little over one dollar in American money can buy a 10,000-mark German bond, whether industrial, municipal or any other kind. To be sure, in Germany the 10,000-mark bond is worth more in goods, as has been stated, than the little over a



(Underwood)

Russian rubles and German marks being sold as souvenirs on the streets of Chicago

dollar would buy in America; but it is perfectly clear that the holders of bonds have had practically all their assets taken from them by currency inflation. The same is true of all other securities of fixed currency value. The holders of these securities—who are in fact lenders—have been mulcted of their property for the benefit of those who were under the obligation to pay—the borrowers. Owners of common stock in industries have, for example, benefited enormously at the expense of holders of bonds and preferred stock.

BENEFITS TO BORROWERS

In a country in which currency is in process of inflation, the borrowers generally are the beneficiaries and the lenders are the sufferers. On July 1, 1921, German marks were about seventy-five to the dollar. Suppose some foresighted German borrowed from a friend or a bank 75,000

marks (\$1,000 worth) and invested the loan in property the value of which does not depend on currency. Land, buildings, goods, machinery all fall in that class. But to make the illustration simpler, assume that he invested the 75,000 borrowed marks in American dollars, getting 1,000 of them. Let us say that the loan was for sixteen months and that on Nov. 1, 1922, our borrower repays his loan. Marks are 4,500 to the dollar. He draws on his \$1,000 to the extent of a little less than \$17 to repay the principal of his loan, leaving him a profit of about \$983. Of course, he would have a little interest—in marks—to pay, but this would be a trifle and not to be compared with the interest his 1,000 American dollars would have earned if he had done nothing more profitable with them than put them in a savings bank.

Many of the European countries during the war passed laws limiting very drastically the raising of rents for dwellings. Even Great Britain did so, although the British landlords never suffered from a highly inflated currency. Landlords elsewhere, in Austria and Poland, for example, did suffer. In the early Summer of 1921 I visited quite a number of poor tenements in Vienna, and found that the rents ranged from 38 to 55 crowns per month for wretched two-room dwellings or flats. At that time marks were about 600 to the dollar, so that the rents then were equivalent to from about 6 to 9 cents a month. The law forbade rents to be increased more than a certain percentage above the pre-war rate. With Austrian crowns depreciated to 75,000 or 80,000 to the dollar, the landlords' receipts (even if some additional increases have been permitted) are practically nothing. Much the same situation prevails in Poland. The landlords of Central Europe have been ruined. Rents are pretty close to free. It is therefore not surprising that one result has been the almost complete stoppage of house building in the great cities, where such building is needed the most. Even if the restrictions did not apply to new buildings, they could not compete with those already in existence. Currency inflation, then, is largely responsible for the evils of overcrowding in the cities of Europe.

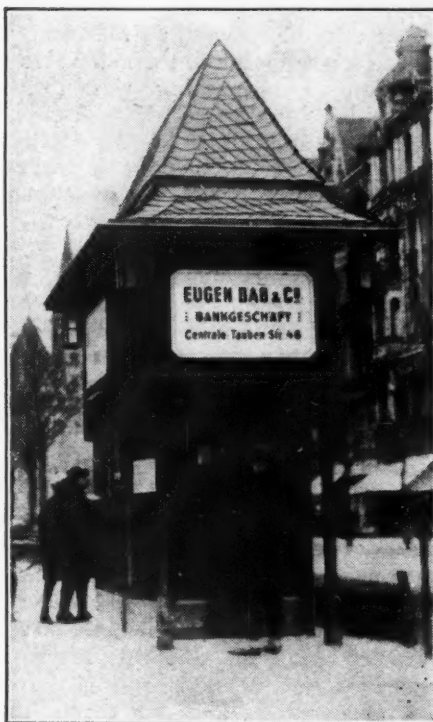
As the business of banks is the handling

of money, it is natural to suppose that they are greatly affected by currency inflation. Obviously, if banks confined their investment business to lending money, such loans would shrink in value, as already explained, to the benefit of the borrowers and the loss of the banks. This loss would be made good by the fact that the banks are themselves borrowers, that is, from their depositors. But what is to make good the loss in the value of the bank's capital itself? One might suppose that all the banks of a country going through a process of currency inflation would find both assets and liabilities shrinking in real value at a tremendous rate, with assets shrinking faster, because the paid-in capital would shrink with the rest. But the banks have been investing their money otherwise than in merely making loans to be repaid in money more greatly depreciated than what was lent. They have been putting their money into properties the currency values of which rose as the currency inflation continued. If such investments are in stock, and if the shares represent property and not amounts of money (as preferred stocks and bonds do), they rise in money value as the currency declines. Banks have also invested heavily in the moneys of countries with sounder currencies. In this way the wisely managed banks have profited rather than lost. Instead of suffering as lenders, they have, on the whole, benefited as borrowers, borrowers from their depositors. Those who have borrowed from the banks have benefited, as already explained; the bank depositors are the unfortunates.

EFFECT ON BANK CAPITAL

Consider what might have happened to a bank organized in Poland in July, 1919. Suppose the stockholders had paid in 1,000,000 Polish paper marks to make up the capital of the bank. Polish marks were 18.5 to the dollar in July, 1919, and the 1,000,000 paper marks would have been worth \$54,054 in good American money. Assume further that for some reason or other this bank did not engage in an active banking business for two years, but merely kept its 1,000,000 paper marks in a safe place for that period. In July, 1921, marks were about 1,500 to the dol-

lar, and the bank's 1,000,000 marks would have been worth about \$666.67 in American money. Currency inflation would have practically robbed it of its capital. Suppose, on the other hand, that the bank had engaged in active business along what would be regarded as ordinary banking lines. Suppose it had had for two years deposits averaging 10,000,000 marks on which it paid average interest of, say, 4 per cent. That would have cost it 400,000 marks a year, or 800,000 for the two years. Suppose it had lent an average of 10,000,000 marks for the two years at an average interest rate of 10 per cent. That would have been 1,000,000 marks a year, or 2,000,000 for the two years, in income. Thus, its profit for the two years would be 1,200,000 marks, or, at 1,500 to the dollar, \$800. The shrinkage in the value of marks in their loans would be equalized by the shrinkage in the value of deposits with them, their borrowers gaining, their depositors losing. But in the two years the bank's capital would have dwindled



(Keystone)

A kiosk in the middle of a Berlin street built for banking purposes

from \$54,054 to \$666.67. It is apparent that banks in countries going through the process of currency inflation must do something other than lend money if they are to keep alive.

In a country in which currency is being continuously inflated, wages and salaries quickly shrink in purchasing power. The floods of new money send prices up as the amount of currency in existence increases. Naturally, employees, whether wage earners or salaried people, demand higher pay, and get it. But they are continually forced to make new demands and, as a rule, their increases in pay always lag behind the increased prices. Thus, generally, the employers are beneficiaries and the employees losers through currency inflation.

Although inflation gives employers as a whole an advantage as compared with employees, money that melts in value while it is held makes all business a good deal of a gamble. Farmers, wholesalers, manufacturers, retailers, all must continually keep marking prices up if they are to get for their goods an amount of money proportionate to the money in circulation, an amount corresponding to the new value of the currency. For marking prices up they get the title of profiteers, although probably not very often deserving it. Business becomes a guess and gamble in nations where the printing presses are busy manufacturing money.

Depreciating money, however, offers great opportunities to speculators who neither toil nor spin. Those who can borrow depreciating currency and buy sound currencies or tangible property with it reap a rich reward. Speculators of various sorts must be listed among the beneficiaries of currency inflation.

Nations that can not or will not balance their budgets make up the deficits between income and expenditure by printing paper currency. Generally they declare that conditions make it impossible to impose taxation equal to necessary expenditure. But the issue of paper currency is itself merely a form of taxation. The real burden a Government puts on its people is the delivery of materials and services to that Government. If it collects from the people through taxation enough currency to pay for those materials and services without

issuing new, unsecured money, or if it fails to collect such taxation but instead issues new paper money to make up the deficit, the economic result—the burden on the people—the real taxation—is the same. The people stand the burden of supporting the Government just the same.

UNJUST TAXATION

The issue of new paper money without any new wealth in the Government's possession to support it is taxation, but taxation of a very indirect and unjust sort. Most of the people do not realize they are being taxed, and for that reason this sort of taxation may sometimes prevent trouble. We have already seen a number of the injustices wrought by currency inflation—wrought, in fact, by secret, indirect Government taxation. Currency inflation and taxation are one and the same, but that sort of taxation is without plan or foresight.

An example of the indirect, one may say invisible, taxation brought about by currency inflation came to my attention in Poznan, Poland, in the Summer of 1921. There I met a man past middle life, probably 55, a Pole who had been working in Detroit for about twenty years. Having saved about \$18,000, and rejoicing in the reality of a free and united Poland after the war, he determined to return to his native land. He arrived in Poland with his family in 1919. His \$18,000 of good American money he converted into Polish marks. His first and largest conversion of dollars into marks took place at the rate of twenty-five marks to the dollar. He received as much as 150 marks to the dollar at a later conversion. Altogether, for his \$18,000 he got about 1,000,000 marks, which he deposited in a Polish bank. When I talked to him in Poznan, marks were 1,650 to the dollar. At that rate his 1,000,000 marks—his \$18,000—had dwindled to about \$600. Luckily he invested a little of his money in tangible property in Poland, thus disposing of some of his million marks before they melted. To that extent he saved something. But the largest part of a lifetime's savings was sucked away by the Government's invisible tax gatherer. The case of this man illustrates how tragically unfair

and uneven in its application such a form of taxation as the depreciation of paper currency can be and is.

It has been stated that in a country inflating its currency prices rise about in proportion to the currency outstanding. Sometimes, however, in cases of violent inflation, when the people get thoroughly in their minds the fact that their money declines in value while they hold it, prices may rise even faster than the amount of currency outstanding increases. This is because the effort of the people to get rid of their money, to buy with it instead of holding it, produces the same effect as increasing the currency. The increased buying, the feverish buying, makes the currency more fluid, more excited as it were. Currency no longer serves as a store of value, for nobody wants to hold it, nor as a standard of value if it is possible to use some other standard. At such times, deals for future payment are made in terms of gold or foreign moneys. The inflated currency serves as an immediate measure of value and medium of exchange. With every one straining to get rid of paper currency for items of tangible value, the amount of money in active circulation is increased, and this acts in the same way as further inflation in increasing prices. One result of this is that with billions and even trillions of units of currency in circulation, there is not enough money for the purposes of business. There is, of course, plenty of currency, but there is not enough value left in it to supply a sufficient medium of exchange for normal business. Complaints that there is not enough money have come from Germany, from Russia and from Poland. Yet Germany had 468,875,571,000 marks in circulation on Oct. 31, 1922. Russia is thought to have had 200 trillion rubles in circulation in June and it is estimated that the circulation was 700 trillion in October, no one in the world really knowing the actual figure. Trillions of rubles, but not enough!

GERMANY TAXES FORMER ENEMIES

One of the oddities of European currency inflation is that Germany is taxing her former enemies by the invisible, indirect taxation system involved in rendering

marks less valuable. Germany has been able, accidentally to be sure, to impose taxation on France, Belgium and Lithuania. Early in 1919 France effected an exchange in Alsace-Lorraine of French francs for German marks on the basis of 1.25 francs for one mark. To carry out this transfer in its entirety, including advances to Alsace-Lorraine banks and transformation of Reichsbank accounts, 2,250,000,000 francs were appropriated, but the amount of francs expended for actual acquisition of marks was 1,253,184,857. Apparently just about 1,000,000,000 marks were acquired. These marks were put in storage instead of being used by the French Government in international commercial transactions as soon as acquired. As it is, the billion German marks have shrunk in value through Germany's inflation procedure to about \$200,000. The value of the francs paid for them has declined, too, but, at 6 cents to a franc, the total paid would still be worth \$75,191,091. The French people have in this way been taxed to the amount of about \$75,000,000. Eventually, however, France may require payment for the marks on a 1919 valuation.

Belgium, too, has acquired German marks as a result of the war. She bought the German marks which circulated in Belgium during the war at a cost of 7,500,000,000 francs, presumably getting 6,000,000,000 German marks for her francs. The 6,000,000,000 German marks which Belgium acquired are now worth about \$1,333,333 (at 4,500 to the dollar). The francs she paid, at 6 cents, are worth \$450,000,000. Belgium has also undertaken to take over eventually the stock of German money of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, amounting to 200,000,000 marks, for which Luxemburg, with the aid of the Belgian Banque Nationale, has already substituted francs. This is, in other words, more indirect taxation by Germany. Of course, here again it is possible that Germany may in the end be forced to redeem for fair value these marks acquired at a high exchange rate and now nearly worthless.

Lithuania, too, has been taxed by Germany through German currency inflation. During the German occupation of Lithuania

the Germans issued hundreds of millions of the so-called "Ost marks," or "East marks," guaranteed by the Reichsbank of the same value as German marks. When Lithuania gained her independence she continued the use of German marks. This seemed in a way an advantage, for Lithuania was forced to meet expenses without a currency inflation of her own. But that advantage has been dearly paid for. In the Summer of 1921 there were, according to estimate, about 1,000,000,000 German marks of both sorts in circulation in Lithuania. They were worth then about sixty to the dollar. The billion were, accordingly, worth about \$16,666,666, and Lithuania had earned the money. But Germany, by the printing of hundreds of billions of new marks—all decreed as good as those held in Lithuania—has drained nearly all the value out of those in Lithuania. At 4,500 to the dollar, the 1,000,000,000 marks which Lithuania had in 1921 (and for which Germany received goods from Lithuania) declined in value to about \$222,222. This meant that the German tax levied on Lithuania was something more than \$16,000,000, or nearly all the currency Lithuania possessed. In the meanwhile new marks have been flowing into

Lithuania from Germany for Germany's further benefit.

Much the largest tax Germany has laid upon former enemy countries has been through the speculative purchase of German marks in those countries, America being the chief purchaser. Estimates of the amounts spent by citizens of countries other than Germany in the speculative purchase of German marks range up to \$2,000,000,000, most of which is lost—in taxation by Germany. Certain German experts state that foreigners have lost as much as \$9,000,000,000. According to one calculation, America's loss was \$904,000,000, mostly incurred by German-Americans.

The economic structure of the modern Western world was built upon sound money, or at least built with sound money as one of its chief component parts. But with the breakdown of monetary systems strange mishaps and disastrous consequences follow. At the end of the wretched road of currency inflation, when depreciated currency is no longer accepted, lurks barter, already in evidence to some extent in Central Europe and in Russia; and barter means a backward step from civilization.



THE DYING CITY OF FIUME

By EDWARD CORSI*

The once prosperous port no longer an outlet for Hungary and the Balkan States—Failure of the Treaty of Rapallo to satisfy the Fiumans, Italians and Jugoslavs—The city doomed if territorially isolated

THE tourist in Fiume, sipping his coffee in one of the luxurious cafés on Piazza Dante, can hardly appreciate the miserable plight in which that famous Adriatic city finds itself. The surface show of luxury and prosperity, the elegantly dressed men and women who while away their time in leisure, tend to cover the true conditions and prevailing misery of a city that is slowly but surely dying. The Pearl of the Quarnaro, after eight years of war, strife, dissension, adventure and what not is reduced to extreme poverty, with no economic life and, what is worse, no prospects of immediate recovery.

In the days preceding the war this old Roman town, created into a municipality by Caesar Augustus and into a "free State" (*corpus separatum*) by Maria Theresa, was an extremely active and prosperous commercial centre. It was also a thriving industrial centre. It served as the commercial outlet for the vast hinterland under the rule of the Hapsburgs, particularly for Hungary, and for the Balkan States which sought Mediterranean markets for their products. It was to Hungary what Trieste, further north, was to Austria. Trieste was Austria's key to the East, while Fiume maintained commercial communications with Italy, Spain, France and the African coast. The Hungarian Government encouraged the development of the city and port by diverting traffic its way, maintaining efficient railway facilities, subsidizing industries and maritime enterprises, reducing freight and custom rates to a minimum. Industrially, the city ranked very prominently among the centres of the empire. Her population was steadily and profitably employed in chemical and tobacco factories, oil re-

fineries, warehouses, docks, shipyards, tanneries and various local industries. A unique standard of living was maintained. Her 46,000 inhabitants were thrifty and contented.

The war and its aftermath have produced an astounding change of conditions. Every symptom of her former life is gone. No less than ten thousand of her workmen walk the streets in search of employment. Many are leaving daily. The great mass of the people—the exceptions are few indeed—live from hand to mouth, with no hope of a better tomorrow. A number of business men have money and property. The money consists of Fiuman notes and Jugoslavian kronens, which the latter will not recognize, and is therefore valueless. There is no credit in the city. One may own much property and not be able to secure a small mortgage. Banks will not lend. Their capital and investments are in worthless Fiuman notes. Factories and stores are closed. The port is idle.

The cost of living in the city is prohibitive. It is much cheaper to live in Venice or Rome than in Fiume. This is due to the difficulty of importing under existing tariffs. The few industries that remain—most of them have been transferred to the hinterland—cannot secure raw products. They have been waiting in vain for a change of conditions, but things have gone from bad to worse. The people of Istria formerly availed themselves of Fiume as a market for their products, but the "strict control" policy of the Italian Government has put an end to this market. No one may enter Fiume without a passport from the Italian Minis-

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View of the City and Port of Fiume

try of Foreign Affairs approved by the local legation. No one may leave Fiume without special permission and without, in many cases, offering a bond. No one may go into Sussak, a Yugoslavian city separated from Fiume by a river, without much red tape. Yugoslavia imposes the maximum duties on articles from Fiume.

Italy has assumed the task of administering the city. At present there are a thousand Italian troops there, a battalion of carabinieri and a High Commissioner. The lira is the official exchange. Italian control began with the departure of the d'Annunzian Legionnaires and has been, from a financial point of view, unsuccessful. Italy has subsidized public utilities and a number of private industries. There is now, however, an annual deficit of eight million lire to be met by her. She has found the task, under the circumstances, quite beyond her power.

The war, of course, has been the great destroyer. But events following the war have contributed much to the breakdown. Fiume has been the football of the Adriatic rivals. She has been kicked about and downed mercilessly by soldiers and diplomats. She has been made to serve the ends of governments too weak to face her problems boldly and frankly.

Fiume, as we have already mentioned, served as the commercial outlet for the

vast Adriatic hinterland. She was practically indispensable to Hungary and the neighboring States. The war, with its territorial readjustment and economic depression, has destroyed that hinterland. The new States are either cut off from the port or, for one reason or another, will not deal with her. Hungary, for instance, is cut off from Fiume by a stretch of Croatian or Yugoslavian territory of a little more than 180 miles. Considering that Hungary's commerce constituted 80 per cent. of all Fiume's traffic, we can appreciate what this means to her. Croatia will divert to herself as much of the little Hungarian traffic (less than 50 per cent. of it remains) as possible. The leading products that passed through Fiume before the war were lumber, sugar and cereals. "These," according to Griffini, an authority on the question, "will not pass through Fiume hereafter. The lumber which came from the present Yugoslavian territory will pass through a national port. The Transylvanian or Rumanian lumber will go through the Danube; sugar from Czechoslovakia will be absorbed by Hamburg because of lower tariffs, and cereals, for many reasons, will not be exported for the present." The readjustment has been very detrimental to Fiume.

The Treaty of Rapallo represents the only direct attempt made by Rome and

Belgrade to settle the Fiume problem. However, it has failed to calm the troubled waters. Not only are the Fiumans themselves bitterly opposed to it, but equally opposed are the people of Italy and Yugoslavia, who view it as a shameful surrender of their national aspirations. Nothing short of complete annexation would satisfy the territorial appetite of certain powerful interests in these countries. Yugoslavia ratified the treaty in 1920, but the Italian Parliament has not yet done so.

The gist of this treaty is to be found in Article 4, which creates Fiume into a free and independent State. Ratification on the part of Fiume is essential to its validity, but she has on many occasions very forcibly refused to approve it. The City Council, in its session of Nov. 17, 1920, declared the treaty to be null and void in so far as Fiume was concerned and that it considered it but a transitory solution which must eventually lead to annexation to Italy. The Fiuman Constituent Assembly rejected the treaty in its session of Oct. 8, 1921, "because of its impracticability and its secret stipulations." Among the numerous objections to the treaty it will be sufficient to point out certain outstanding criticisms advanced by competent Fiuman authorities.

"For us Fiumans," says Edoardo Susmel, "the Adriatic problem is national, territorial, economic and political. For the Treaty of Rapallo it is territorial and not national, economic and political." Fiume, as a Free State, is an absurdity. It cannot now, nor in the future, have a life of its own. "Even if it should become the richest port in the world," says Beneditti, editor of *La Vedetta d'Italia*, Fiume's leading newspaper, "it could not survive independently, as the Treaty of Rapallo would seem to demand." It must be supported and maintained by a friendly State which will have a direct economic interest in doing so. "The treaty," comments *La Vedetta d'Italia* in a recent editorial, "compels the city to provide for its own financial administrative systematization, thus confronting her with problems beyond her power to solve. It is quite out of the question, for instance, to carry on as a municipality and as a State. She cannot, with her limited

resources, have two administrations. Her finances, her income, her activity, can only permit her to operate on a municipal basis, but under the treaty she must exist as a State."

MUTILATED "FREE STATE"

The chief objection of all Fiumans is concerned with certain secret stipulations accompanying the treaty, admitted by Count Sforza and Minister Trumbic, which concede to Yugoslavia integral parts of the port known as Porto Baross (Porto Nazario Sauro) and the Delta. By this concession the ancient corpus separatum is mutilated. The life and development of the port depend to a great extent on the maintenance of the corpus separatum. Susmel points out that the commerce in lumber was the chief element of activity before the war and that this was developed on the Delta. If the Delta is lost to Fiume, this commerce will pass to Yugoslavia.

The Fiumans fear that Yugoslavia, with Porto Baross and the Delta, will build an adjoining port, thus permanently destroying Fiume. M. Trumbic, Yugoslavian Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time of the signing of the treaty, said to a representative of the *Jutarnji List*: "In a sense we have lost the sea, because we were only given Porto Baross. But not so in a geographic sense, because we have a long coast and it is with us to render it commercially powerful and to create a great port for the entire nation." The *Tribuna* of Rome said at the time:

It must not be lost sight of in considering this question that Porto Baross can live without Fiume, but Fiume cannot live without Porto Baross. The authors of the treaty, according to Beneditti, "committed another crime. They considered the port and the railways (Fiume is reached by two lines, the Trieste-Vienna and the Zegabria-Budapest which was recently reopened) apart from that of the city proper as two distinct problems. The port system includes the city. The port, the railways and the city should have been considered in relation to the hinterland as one problem, economic in nature. The city itself as a political problem is of secondary importance."

The Treaty of Rapallo was but a child of expediency, born out of a desperate attempt to shelve a very serious problem.

tained between Fiume and Yugoslavia, Italy and Yugoslavia. Any friction will prove injurious to Fiume.

(5) Either Italy or Yugoslavia must be accorded a mandate over the city, or such a relation must be established as existed between Fiume and Hungary before the war. The city cannot exist independently.

A SPLENDID ECONOMIC PRIZE

Fiume is at present the nerve centre or "sore spot" of the delicate Adriatic situation. Peace and friendly relations between Italy and Yugoslavia depend on an equitable and acceptable solution of this problem. There are nationalist forces both at Rome and at Belgrade, which would have us believe that the question is purely one of sacred nationalism. The Italians argue, and not without truth, that Fiume and Dalmatia are ethnically and historically Italian and should therefore be annexed to Italy. The Yugoslavians are equally convinced that the city, for perfectly good reasons, properly belongs to them. We are not concerned with these arguments. What these forces fail to admit—and what no one with any knowledge of the subject will deny—is that the problem is primarily economic. Fiume is a splendid economic prize. To Italy she would be invaluable in her conquest of Russian and Balkan markets, while to Yugoslavia she would serve as the key to Western Europe and the Mediterranean. It has been charged that Italy desires Fiume purely to protect Trieste against competition. When it is considered that both these ports flourished in spite of each other and that each has an economic sphere of its own, the accusation appears groundless.

The proposed railway from Belgrade to the Adriatic would render the ports of Spalato, Ragusa and Cattaro very useful

and very accessible to Yugoslavia. It would not materially injure Fiume. In the years preceding the war only 13 per cent. of the total traffic of the countries now composing the Yugoslav Kingdom passed through Fiume. The rest found its way to Dalmatian and Aegean ports. It is to be seriously doubted that the building of this railway will remove the existing friction between Italy and Yugoslavia. So long as the latter persists in blocking Italy's aspirations to Fiume and Dalmatia that friction will remain. In the mind of the Italians, Yugoslavia has taken Austria's place as a natural foe. On the other hand, feeling against Italy is very bitter among the people of the new State.

The victory of Kemal Pasha and the return of the Turk in Europe, accompanied by the reawakening of Bulgaria in the Balkan tangle, has had its effects on Belgrade. Yugoslavia covets Saloniki on the Aegean, promised her by the Treaty of Bucharest. To have this treaty executed she needs the aid of Italy. Hence she may decide to renounce her claims to Fiume in return for that aid. Italy would concede the Dodecanese Islands to Greece, while Bulgaria, for her approval, would be given the port of Dedeagatch, also on the Aegean. This, of course, remains to be realized. Mussolini, in the meanwhile, will request a revision of the Treaty of Rapallo with its subsequent ratification by the Italian Parliament. The Nincic-Mussolin conference, postponed by the Cabinet crisis in Belgrade, will be resumed in the near future.

Any plan agreed upon will be of little value to Fiume unless it affords her the co-operation and good-will of all the nations involved. To Italy and Yugoslavia this problem may be one of nationalism, of economic expansion, of sentiment. To Fiume it is a question of life and death.



MASS DISOBEDIENCE AS INDIA'S WEAPON OF REVOLT

By BEN MISRA*

Akali troubles bring Sikhs into line with Hindus and Moham-medans in grim struggle for home rule—Triumph of Gandhi's campaign of non-resistance seen in submission to brutal beat-ings—Preparations for nation-wide disregard of authority

If it is not given to us to build the edifice of Swaraj with our own hands, you may be sure that the noble pile will rise on the secure foundation filled up with our bones.—PANDIT NEHRU.

A TERRIFIC storm, which had been gathering force all the while that British officialdom was indulging in vain speculations over the collapse of the non-co-operation movement following the conviction of Mahatma Gandhi, burst in India last August, awaking the whole country to the realization of the fact that no fury is more furious than the fury of the non-resister.

The ideal of absolute non-violence in thought, word and deed, which, even with the presence of Mahatma Gandhi on the scene, could not be attained—the plan of mass civil disobedience, which, owing to the brutal death of seventeen Indian policemen at Chauri Chaura, had to be postponed, has received dramatic adherence from the Sikhs, those traditional militarists of the Punjab, those bulwarks of the British Army, those war-scarred veterans of a hundred fields, who shed their blood fighting the battles of the British Empire on the plains of Tirah, Chitral, Afghanistan, Burma, China, East Africa, the Sudan, Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Gallipoli and Russia—who in thousands stood entrenched for days together in icy water in France—who saw service in Rumaddee, in Mesopotamia, where the thermometer stood at 135 degrees, and no fewer than 190 died from thirst in a single day—who in Kutelamers held out against grievous odds, subsisting on the flesh of horses and mules when all communications were cut off—who stemmed the onrushing tide

of victorious German hordes in hand-to-hand bayonet fights at Neuve Chapelle and Ypres—those medaled and mutilated heroes of yesterday and fanatics of today accomplished that feat of non-violence, carried out that campaign of mass civil disobedience, when Mahatma Gandhi's voice was hushed behind the prison walls of Yerwada, because his radiant spirit was aglow in every heart as a flame, consuming and unconsumed.

The present-day history of India records no more glorious feat of forbearance and forgiveness than that of the Sikhs of the Punjab. These people have always ranked among the bravest of the brave. They are baptized with a sword, and go by the name of Singh, or lion. They are the flower of Indian chivalry; their deeds of lionlike valor are known the world over. Sprung from the loins of Hinduism and Islam in the fifteenth century, to bridge the gulf between the two faiths, these disciples of Guru Nanak are noted for their martial spirit, devotion and purity. The policy of religious persecution adopted by the Moguls drove them to arms, and with the Mahrattas in the South they proved the undoing of Mogul despotism.

The main cause of the Sikh conflict with the Indian Government was the question of the Sikh temples. These temples belong by right and tradition to the Sikh community, which never suffered a corrupt hierarchy to squander public money and endowments in profligate dissipation.

*Ben Misra is a member of a distinguished Brahman family prominent in the public life of India. His uncle, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, was formerly Secretary of the Indian National Congress.



(International)
Types of Akalis, members of one of the Sikh sects in India, who have been causing the British great trouble by claiming certain property rights and who have been submitting to beatings by the police rather than violate the doctrine of non-violence

A long-drawn struggle with the British Government for the reform and restoration of the temples through the law courts and by legislation culminated in the formation of the Shrine Management Committee by the Sikhs in November, 1920, three months after the inception of the non-co-operation movement. Despairing of obtaining justice from the British, the Sikhs adopted the principle of non-co-operation, and promised to work in conformity with the National Congress.

Large bodies of reforming Sikhs were arrested on one pretext or another. As many as 2,000 were cast in prison for protesting against the action of the Government in taking possession of the keys of the Golden Temple of Amritsar in November, 1921. Within two months after the keys had been restored and the prisoners released, another 1,700 were arrested in a fortnight in the Spring of 1922 for appearing in black turbans, the national headdress of the Sikhs.

The Shrine Management Committee entered into formal possession of the two Guru ka Bagh temples on the basis of an agreement signed by their priest on Jan. 31, 1921, to work under a local board and subordinate to it. When the Sikhs fell under the displeasure of the Government and began to be arrested in large numbers, the priest saw his opportunity. He turned out the secretary of the local board and burned the office records. The management committee thereupon found itself forced to take charge of the temples on Aug. 23, 1921, being confirmed in its possession by the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Macpherson.

Fuel for the free temple kitchen then began to be chopped on the adjoining land entered in the name of the temples. On Aug. 9, 1922, five Akalis (protestant Sikhs) in charge of the temples were arrested by the order of the Deputy Commissioner for having chopped wood the day before. On Aug. 10 the statement of

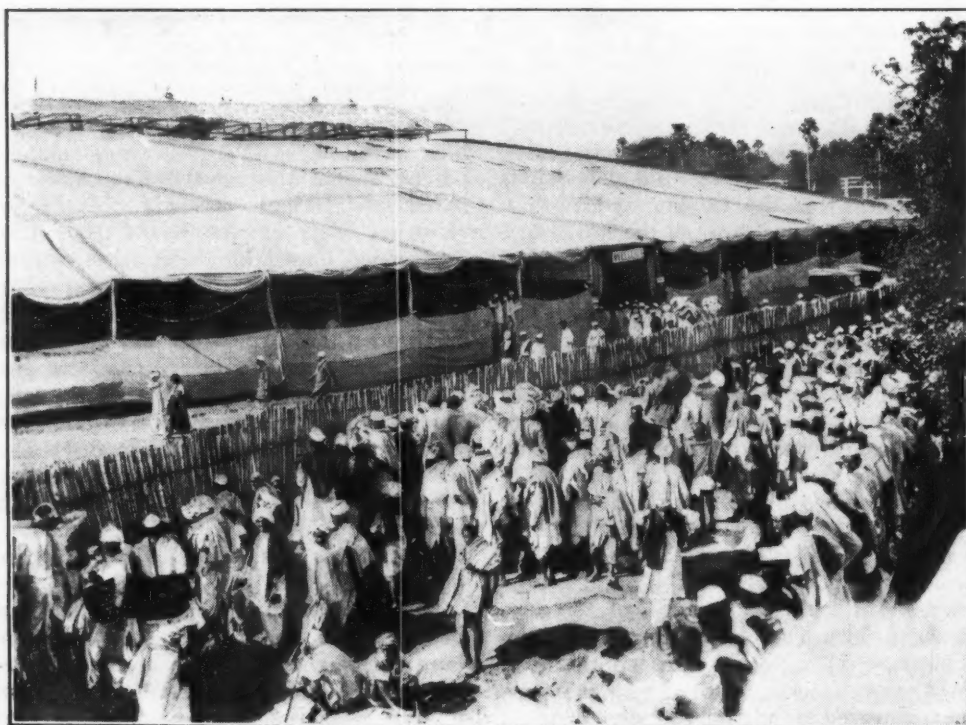
the priest was obtained in support of the step already taken and the accused were sentenced on charges of theft to six months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of 50 rupees each. Batches of volunteers continued chopping wood unmolested by the police until Aug. 22, when wholesale arrests began. After 180 Sikhs had been arrested, beating started on Aug. 25. As batch after batch, consisting usually of five, went forward to cut wood, they were assaulted with rifle butts and sticks, until each man fell on the ground disabled.

BRUTAL TREATMENT OF AKALIS

This change of tactics was the signal for hundreds of Akalis to pour in from Amritsar. The first clash between the Akalis bound for Guru ka Bagh and the police took place on Aug. 31. The Akalis were ordered to disperse, and, on their offering civil disobedience, were given a sound beating.

The situation now assumed a more

serious aspect. Batches usually of 100 started each day from Amritsar, after taking the vow of non-violence at the Golden Temple. At some point on the road they were stopped by a squadron of police armed with sticks five and one-half feet long, one and one-half inches thick, bound with iron at one end to a length of about five or six inches and with brass to the same length at the other, and in some cases mounted with a round metal knob at the thicker end. As soon as the police rushed at them, the Akalis sat on the ground, in a resigned, prayerful mood, their heads bent forward to receive the blows, chanting all the while, "Wahguru, Wahguru, Satnamji" ("glory, glory to the Teacher of Blessed Name"). The sticks were then plied mercilessly on the back, head and more sensitive parts of the body, till the Akalis lay prostrate on the ground, disabled or unconscious. After that they were kicked, dragged by the hair or thrown into the ditches on



(International)

The great tent, made of khaddar, native homespun cloth, in which the thirty-seventh annual Indian National Congress met at Gaya

either side of the road. Here they received first-aid treatment from volunteer doctors and Boy Scouts and were removed to the hospital provided by the public. On one occasion twelve men rose after regaining consciousness and took to the road, only to be again beaten down into insensibility.

Similar treatment was meted out at Guru ka Bagh. One Triloki Singh was struck by an officer of the Police Department with such force that one of his eyeballs dropped out. Deprived of one eye and bleeding profusely, the man rose from the ground eight times to receive sledgehammer blows before he fell down unconscious. Another man, Prithi Pal Singh, was on his feet seven times before he was laid low. Still another Akali was so severely wounded that the same police officer called the doctor twice to remove him, but he refused to be removed and continued rising and getting knocked down until he lost consciousness.

There is scarcely a parallel in the pages of history to this record of passive resistance, this marvel of fortitude, this miracle of suffering, so prayerful and patient, so lofty and spiritual, so full of pathos, so rich in faith, so unearthly, so sublime. These Akalis were cuffed and kicked, dragged by the hair and thrown in mud-holes, belabored with sticks and pierced with bayonets, trampled under foot, trodden on by cavalry, beaten with their own shoes. Yet they remained calm and unflinching. Nothing shook their faith, nothing embittered their serenity, nothing deflected them from their purpose. C. F. Andrews, an Englishman, greeted them while they were hastening to their doom; they knew him not, friend of India though he is; yet they returned his greetings joyfully without a trace of bitterness. Two policemen approached the Akalis' free kitchen after the beating was over, and they fed them with willingness and love.

The Government at last recognized the futility of trying to break the spirit of the Akalis, and after Sept. 9 they were allowed to proceed to Guru ka Bagh unscathed. At the temple, however, the beatings continued for some days longer, until, as the result of strong representations made by C. F. Andrews that it was "a moral

defeat for England," the beatings were stopped in favor of arrests. An unceasing stream of Akalis at once began to pour in to be arrested. According to figures made available up to Nov. 6 the number of arrests was 4,498, including the crippled and the blind. According to a Calcutta cablegram of Nov. 27, the police have been withdrawn, leaving the Akalis masters of the field with their rights established to the property in dispute. The Government has also forced a bill for the reform of the shrines through the Council by 40 votes to 31, in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of all the Hindu and Sikh members, supported by three Mohammedans and one Indian Christian, two of the official members remaining neutral. It does not require much of a prophet to predict the fate of such a bill. This still-born babe of the Punjab Government will go the way of its predecessors, unrecognized and ignored by the Shrines Management Committee.

Two diametrically opposed views are current regarding the effect of Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment on the progress of the non-co-operation movement. What British officialdom fondly imagines to be the collapse, Indian national opinion firmly believes to be the climax. Lord Winterton, Under-Secretary of State for India, gave expression to the official view when discussing the Indian situation in the House of Commons on June 15, 1922. Since Gandhi's arrest and conviction in March the country, he said, had become progressively quieter and the bubble of Gandhi's supernatural power had been summarily pricked. Mr. Lloyd George in his speech in August expounded the same theory that non-co-operation "at the present time is in a state of collapse," but the march of events in India having taught him to be less optimistic, he admitted that "the most serious and most trying time is yet to come."

20,000 JAILED PROVE GANDHI'S POWER

Mr. Ben Spoor, Labor member from Durham, voiced the Indian opinion in the course of the debate that followed Lord Winterton's statement: "It would be difficult to imagine a more superficial view of what is, perhaps, the most vital issue facing British statesmanship at the present

moment. * * * You are dealing in India with a terrific force—a force which is altogether incalculable and almost superhuman. * * * At the present moment over 20,000 political prisoners are in jail. They include men of high culture, men whose character has never been questioned. They include men of profound culture, of culture, I submit, probably greatly in excess of that of the average member of the House of Commons. * * *

The crime of these 20,000 people is not that they are anti-British; it is simply that they are pro-Indian. * * * The policy of blood and iron can no more bring peace in India than it brought peace in Ireland. * * * Unless there is a rapid change in the whole temper of the relations of Britain and India, India will be lost to Britain, and Britain will be lost to India. * * * India simply wants to be master in her own house, and until she is master in her own house there will be no peace."

Has the bubble of Gandhi's power been pricked? It must indeed be a very solid and substantial bubble that inspires such heroic deeds of non-violence as those witnessed at Guru ka Bagh, all the official pricking notwithstanding. Is Gandhi's influence on the wane? The Akali struggle is in itself a living monument to the influence Gandhi exerts on the Indian masses today, and justifies to the full the misgivings of those who feared that Gandhi in jail might prove more powerful than Gandhi outside. It is a fact, not easily controverted, that never was Gandhi more powerful in his life.

In 1919, before the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement, Gandhi, while on his way to the Punjab, was arrested at



(International)

C. R. Das, who presided over the Indian National Congress at Gaya in the absence of Gandhi, who is still in prison. The woman standing beside Das is his wife

a small, out-of-the-way railway station near Delhi, and sent back to Bombay. The shock was felt all over the country, causing violent eruptions at Bombay, Ahmeda-

bad and in the Punjab. Three years later when, according to a statement by Riza Ali in the Legislative Assembly, 90 per cent. of the people were with him, Gandhi was arrested at his hermitage, in the midst of his followers, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. Not a finger was raised, not a hair was touched, because the country had now settled down to the grim reality of warfare, because arrest and assault had become normal conditions of life, and because, repentant of its lapses in the past, India was determined to vindicate the discipline it had undergone.

Yet, if there is the least sign of commotion anywhere, due to any cause whatsoever, critics declare that non-co-operation has failed. Does not the movement, it is asked, claim to be a negation of violence in thought, word and deed? If, on the other hand, there is no disturbance, and a strictly peaceful atmosphere is maintained, in the face of the greatest provocation, again it is asserted that non-co-opera-

tion has failed, for now, argue our critics, the country is turning away from its leaders. Arguments such as these only misrepresent the situation. The fact remains that in millions of Indian hearts the spirit, the principle, the high idealism, the will to suffer and the will to win underlying the non-co-operation movement are ablaze, as a glowing, living reality, inspired and inspiring.

THE INDIAN PROGRAM

Change in program does not argue change in principle. Change in program there has been; and change in program there will be, as often as the necessity arises. But there is little likelihood of change in the principle of non-violent non-co-operation, which the leaders declare shall remain intact until it merges into co-operation with an Indian Home Rule Government, heaven and earth notwithstanding. How, in the name of all



(International)

One of the stalls where Indian national propagandist literature was sold during the Congress at Gaya

common sense, they ask, can the movement be pronounced dead, unless and until its most effective weapon has been tried and found wanting? That weapon is the weapon of civil disobedience, and India is today heading determinedly in that direction.

A campaign of aggressive mass civil disobedience was to have been initiated in February in opposition to the wholesale arrests of non-co-operators, on the refusal of the Government to release all political prisoners convicted for non-violent activities. But the death of seventeen Indian policemen at Chauri Chaura led to its postponement until there was a prospect of a perfectly peaceful atmosphere. To promote this the Working Committee of the National Congress advised the people to concentrate on the constructive program involving temperance work, and the wearing of khaddar (homespun cloth). An idea of the popularity of khaddar in India and neighboring countries can be gathered from the fact that the Amir of Afghanistan, addressing his subjects on Independence Day, exhorted them to use khaddar more and more. The Amir himself uses khaddar, which is also the dress of the Commander-in-Chief, the highest official in Afghanistan.

Temperance work appealed to many aggressive non-co-operators in that it put the Government on the horns of the dilemma: the questionable nature of the liquor and opium traffic matched by the rich returns which it could ill afford to lose. In some centres the picketing of liquor shops was carried to such a high pitch of efficiency that it not only prevented the sale of liquor but led to there being no bids for licenses to sell liquor during the coming year. When outsiders were brought in to undertake the business on a commission basis, the people refused to lease their shops. This eventually led to arrests and assault as the only effective alternative, and it became a common sight, wrote the special correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, to find a policeman mercilessly belaboring an unresisting picket on the street.

The constructive program was carried on more with loyalty than zeal. There was a decided note of discontent throughout

India over the suspension of civil disobedience, and the people pressed for some aggressive forward movement with which to fight the bureaucracy. Among Bombay nationalists this discontent grew articulate in a flaming desire to enter the Councils, not in a spirit of co-operation, but to paralyze the machinery of the Government, to "carry on the war in the lions' own den." The same phrase appealed strongly to the leaders of Bengal.

HOW LLOYD GEORGE INFLAMED REVOLT

It was at such a psychological moment, when the question of wrecking the Councils was agitating the minds of Bombay and Bengal nationalists, that Mr. Lloyd George made a speech in the House of Commons in which he referred to the Montagu reforms as a constitutional experiment, liable, as the Indians understood him to mean, to be declared abortive, if non-co-operators were returned to the Councils. The non-co-operators could not help thanking Mr. Lloyd George for this frank avowal of British policy to hold India in fee forever, while the Moderates, once more disillusioned, passed indignant resolutions all over the country. As the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta wrote: "For all practical purposes, moderatism today is a dead creed. Mr. Lloyd George has given it a deathblow, and the Viceroy (who tried to put a graceful face on the utterance to allay the misgivings of the Moderates) has said the burial service over it."

This is by no means exaggeration. The Hon. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, sometime Secretary of the Indian National Congress, and now a leading Moderate, presiding over the Moderate Conference, which met at Fyzabad in October and adopted not moderate but extremist resolutions, indignantly asked what Mr. Lloyd George meant by saying that, if non-co-operators were returned to the Councils at the next election, the reforms might go at the sweet will of himself and the House of Commons which he led. Was he or any other power, continued Pandit Misra, going to dictate to the electors of India to return only such men as the British wanted? That would be the negation of the first principles of democracy, and if Mr. Lloyd George placed before them the

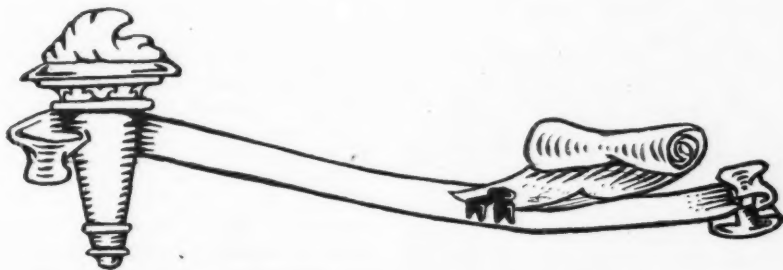
alternatives of accepting the perpetual serfdom of the electorate and the certainty of a revolution with its attendant anarchy and chaos, he, for one, and he believed the whole of his audience, would have no difficulty in choosing revolution.

INDIA AWAITS SUPREME MOMENT

Rudely awakened out of their day-dreams by Mr. Lloyd George's parting kick, the Moderates today are highly indignant, and a sharp controversy rages in the Nationalist camp whether or not to enter the Councils. The Government took strong measures to confine the Akali movement to Guru ka Bagh and localize it at the most in the Sikh community. For that reason, Swami Shraddhanand, a leading Hindu monk, was sentenced to sixteen months' imprisonment for making a speech at the Golden Temple on Sept. 10 to the effect that the question was not one for the Sikhs alone, but for all the communities of India, and that a number of Hindus and Mohammedans were ready to join the movement and could be summoned by wire if the Management Committee so desired. As The Democrat of Allahabad said in its issue of Nov. 1, "the whole of the Punjab and India will become one great Guru ka Bagh, whether present-day leaders wish it or not. For, frankly, we are reaching a stage when leadership is passing from individuals to the masses, when, as the Mahatma (Gandhi) prophesied, every man is becoming a leader armed with truth to do, dare and die for a cause near and dear to his heart."

Such is the situation in India today. The Sikhs, the steel frame of Indian nationalism, have cleared the way, and the rest of the country is ready to follow in their wake if the occasion should arise. The spirit of individual civil disobedience is abroad. Cases of non-payment of taxes and the holding of prohibited public meetings are becoming common. The Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee, which has been touring the country since June, though admitting that the country is not prepared to embark upon general mass civil disobedience, has recommended that Provincial Committees be authorized to sanction such limited mass civil disobedience as the breaking of a particular law or the non-payment of a particular tax for which the people are ready, in view of the fact that a situation may arise in any part of the country demanding an immediate resort to mass civil disobedience of a limited character. "We confess that nothing the British authorities have done, or are supposed to have done, in India in recent times, not even the martial law atrocities of three years ago," wrote the press representatives delegated to report the Akali struggle, "has created such a strong feeling of dissatisfaction as the excesses committed on the Akalis in connection with the Guru ka Bagh have done."

Discontent is the ruling note of Indian life today. Great or small, the note of discontent is present in every Indian heart from Mahatma Gandhi to Dr. Gour. The stage is set, the prelude is over, and waiting for her cue stands India on the verge of civil disobedience.



GERMAN YOUTH IN QUEST OF A NEW LIFE

By K. JOACHIM FRIEDRICH

The revolt against old ideas and established institutions that has become a movement for spiritual freedom—The attitude of the “Wandervoegel” toward questions of nationalism and morality—“Storm and Stress” revival

With introduction by AMY S. JENNINGS
Editorial Secretary, National Student Forum

THE German Youth Movement is not an idea that was conceived in the brain of some energetic educator or philanthropist and spread among young people by clubs, organizations, and stereopticon lectures. It originated as a spontaneous reaction of hundreds of German boys and girls against the boredom and oppression of their scientifically organized life.

Beginning in 1900 the movement spread with extraordinary rapidity. The young people felt they must live now, not merely spend their time in preparing for some future life considered desirable by their elders. The “Wandervögel” (birds of passage) left the towns to live simply and naturally in the fields and woods. Groups of them became actors and singers, going from village to village and presenting the plays of Shakespeare, one of the favorite authors in Germany. Other groups were formed, groups of young artists who produce the remarkable German wood-cuts of today and of young workmen conducting co-operative industries.

When the war broke out there were 10,000 “Wandervögel” alone. Altogether the free youth movement numbered about 200,000. The war naturally had a profound effect upon these young people. As their comrades were killed and countrysides destroyed, more than ever they turned away from the standardized ideals and organizations of their elders. Since the war they have been reaching out for friendship with the youth of other nations, and there are now national and international youth organizations in nearly all the countries of Europe.

Inklings of this activity reached the students in America. Here also the young people were more dissatisfied than usual, and showed that dissatisfaction concretely. At Barnard College, in New York, the students had the audacity to draw up a new curriculum and to ask the Faculty to teach

them along its lines. At Wisconsin the undergraduates desired representation on the Board of Trustees. Discussion clubs, the object of which was to question every ready-made institution and philosophy, sprang up in colleges all over the country, twenty-one of them being now affiliated to the National Student Forum.

The foreign secretary of the National Student Forum, George D. Pratt Jr., attended several international youth conferences in Europe. He was much impressed with the work and ideas of these young people. To cite only one example, the students of the youth movement look upon their education as a privilege which they have no right to keep to themselves. They organize and conduct free classes for workers and others who cannot afford to attend the universities. Mr. Pratt believed that American students would greatly enjoy meeting these men. Accordingly he and John Rothschild, executive secretary of the Forum, literally scoured Europe last Summer to find six students to visit America for the purpose of interpreting the European youth movements to us. At a conference of some sixty of the leaders of the German Youth Movement they finally selected two who seemed capable of reconciling all the varied points of view of the political, economic, artistic and educational groups, and of expressing the spirit which animated them all. One of those selected, Joachim Friedrich, a Heidelberg student, has written the following article defining the attitude of the German Youth Movement toward the separation of the generations, the race question, prohibition and sexual morality.

Friedrich, who is now 21 years old, learned English only six weeks before he sailed for America. He has worked as farmer and coal miner to pay for a college education, and will take his degree of doctor of philosophy on his return to Germany this Summer. Meanwhile he and the five other foreign students from Den-

mark, Holland, Czechoslovakia and England are touring our colleges, staying a few days at each. They bring us a vivid message of courage and friendship. The essence of their thought is that institutions depend upon the spirit. And the

spirit of youth is international, its restlessness and idealism are international. Let young people come together now to encourage each other and to develop a wise and friendly spirit with which to build the institutions of the future.

TO the outsider, in this era of mechanical organization, the "Wandervögel," a genuinely spontaneous movement, cannot but take on a very mysterious appearance, the more so since its attitude today differs from that of the pre-war period. Before the war the outlook of the youth movement was romantic, for there was an extreme lack of any kind of romance in the existing society. The great industrial cities of Europe are the tail end of the development of an old culture, and are therefore in striking contrast with the cultural monuments of a more romantic age.

It may be that this youth movement is only a fantastic dream of young people. Youth, in spite of all opposition, had a wild, fanciful desire for great adventures, for *lived* life. There was also a strong will toward sacrifice for ideal values, for faith, for immediate contact of soul with soul; the old system had to be denied; the old life was meant only to be endured, not lived. They discovered beside its stiff, hard, mechanized relations another life of ardor, of fervor and wildness, a life which was sleeping in their own soul, willing to storm through the whole world and to embrace every feeling heart.

A deep abyss was opened between many parents and their fantastic, strange children. Only the parent of great soul, the deep understander of the human heart, did not lose contact with the younger generation. This separation in many cases was no mere abstraction, but unfortunately a matter of fact. The parents, educated in the old system, could not reach so objective a viewpoint as to condemn with their children what was wrong in this general mechanization. The old European order, the system which has lasted already several hundred years, all this wonderful progress seemed to the parents to be threatened by this new movement. Apparently, there was no possibility of restraint. If the children could not reach an agreement with the will of their parents, they left father and mother. These

enthusiastic young people resigned the happiness of growing up in old traditions, no longer filled with life, to reach a state of inner freedom and self-chosen service. This conflict between the love of their parents and the destruction of the basis of trust in them is shown very clearly by the following letter, typical of such a boy as wrote it. He is writing to another boy he has never seen. The letter is taken from Karl Fischer's book on "The Youth Movement":

I am continually forced to work during the vacations. I must strike soon. Every evening I have a headache and a feeling of isolation, solitude and defenselessness against which for very shame I am always fighting. Oh, how I would like to cover my head with my arms and howl like a wolf! Such idolatrous love of parents is worse than failure at an examination. You may fairly call it cold pomp. The son sits in the first class at high school: he is tall, slender, not stupid, not bad in school. Why is he not happy? He could be. Why not? Why, why? How coldly, how sneeringly the moon stares at me. Thus comes the cry: Bring me wine, wine! It may be bitter to have no parents, more bitter it is to have such who are not real parents, but the bitterest. * * *

Another letter from the same boy reads:

I was blessed in receiving your letter. It is like the wisp of straw which seems to the drowning man like a lifeboat. At this moment, I am, thank God, not yet drowned, for I am far from my parents who (what an irony!) should be our anchor. But this anchor seems especially to fasten the lifeship with grappling irons to the sandbanks of desperation and despondency. These chains must be burst open! I do not know, I believe my parents are only very short-sighted and will not or can not reach a freer, nobler viewpoint. Apparently they cannot suppose any idealism in us, and are forced to plead always for old prejudices. What does not seem comparable to the old view does not seem, or perhaps cannot be, for them anything else but bad, bestial, brutish. There are no defensive arms against such a view. One can only pass by with quivering lips and bleeding heart. The victims have to fall and, if we are such victims, we may fall with the knowledge of having forced the way of freedom. If it is only one grain of sand that we have been, it will come, it will come, that time

when our hangmen shall crash down, gnashing their teeth in futile rage.

This is their most important ideal: to resign all prejudices, to be open-minded to the world's beautiful as well as to its ugly face, to confront courageously and obstinately all problems; that is their attitude.

It cannot be repeated often enough that all interpretations of the aims of the youth movement, its definite purposes, are absolute fancies. These young people found the courage to resign all purposes, to fulfill first their own personalities. And I think it was good so. The fact in this youth movement was that youth intended merely to move. Nothing in nature which happens is conscious of its purpose, and the best things grow secretly. Rome in its quality as the capital of the world was not founded by Romulus; the "Wandervögel Jugendbewegung" (Youth Movement) was not founded by any single leader.

There were many ideals which the boy put into it. The real sense had to be discovered later. It happens too easily that the "Wandervögel" movement is confused with some kind of wandering club, although a "Wandervögel" and a tourist are as different as a cavalier of the twelfth century and a lieutenant of a present-day army. It is too bad that one should be forced, if willing to explain such a strange new thing as this to the outsider, always to have imputed to the movement aims and purposes that are pleasurable. To avoid such ridiculous conclusions it is necessary to understand the historical situation out of which the movement has grown.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOVEMENT

Every movement has its vital nucleus in a need, and, therefore, as the inner need creates an inner relation, it has an emotional origin. Later, when the first intoxication of feeling has subsided, the more realistically minded ask, "Where are we going? What is the consequence of this changed inner attitude toward the world?" Then he asks for purposes, tries to find them, and thus we see the formulation of definite plans and the choice

of fields of action. Activities start in different directions; in the German Youth Movement some of them are: the turning away from poisons (alcohol, tobacco), the emancipation of girls in all fields of human endeavor as well as in politics, the cultivation of the folksong, the use of clean language, and so on. Then the race question.

To touch the question of race is like going near a cask of gunpowder. The origin of the youth movement makes it evident that any particular tendency is only a single line of development. There is no one thing on which you can fix as being subscribed to by all the youth groups, just as there is no one country where there is only one party. Karl Fischer, one of the first leaders of the movement, took up an attitude toward the race question which must be considered as fairly typical of those in this movement who adopt any attitude on this question at all. His relation toward foreign peoples was a very moderate and well-balanced one. Never would he have admitted fanatical incitation. In respect to the Jews of our own country especially his attitude was just and right. He was not an anti-Semite. He was acquainted with Jews and wanted them to unite, to build a culture of their own. Jew and German should stand one beside the other and recognize one another. Fischer acknowledged the value of the alien character, but he desired also that it have the will to justify itself and to build its own culture. On this basis, he saw the only possibility for international co-operation. He is typical in his attitude, and you can see the saneness of this movement in that it avoids the demagogical splits which are usually set up as the only two possible alternatives: nationalism, which you may fairly call jingoism, and internationalism, which you cannot discern from an uprooted cosmopolitan viewpoint and which can never be the background of a home-grown culture.

What is the attitude of this movement in respect to alcohol? Are they prohibitionists? I declare frankly that they are not, for they have no need to be. "Youth is drunkenness without wine," says some wise man. In this intoxication of their storm-

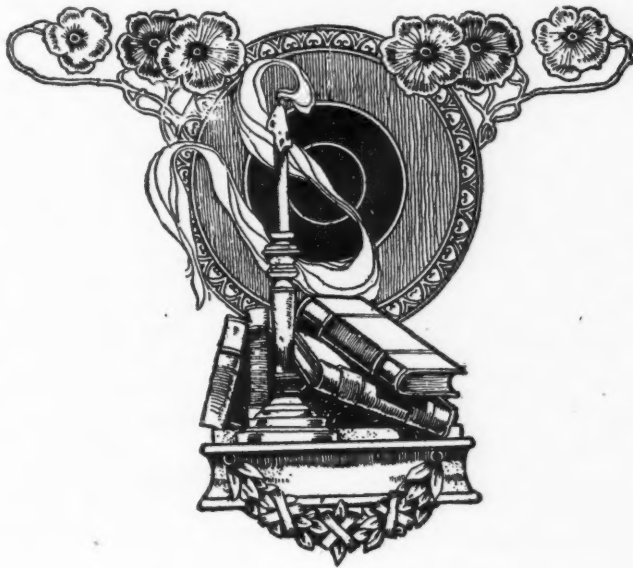
ing, swarming freedom they forgot to drink wine; they did not care for it. Suddenly it had disappeared, but later, of course, as the people asked the question they recognized that there was nothing so unnatural as artificially excited and exalted emotions. Therefore they took a position of denial toward alcohol.

"Are they really for free love?" People asked me this so often, shuddering at the idea. "No, not at all," I said. "But are they not wandering together, boys and girls?" I was asked, my questioners smiling cynically. "No," I repeated, "for they refused that. There was much more an attitude of asceticism and a scorn of all sentimentality among the young wanderers." And again my questioners: "Does not that seem hard to believe, especially as there is a strong line of sentimentality in it?"

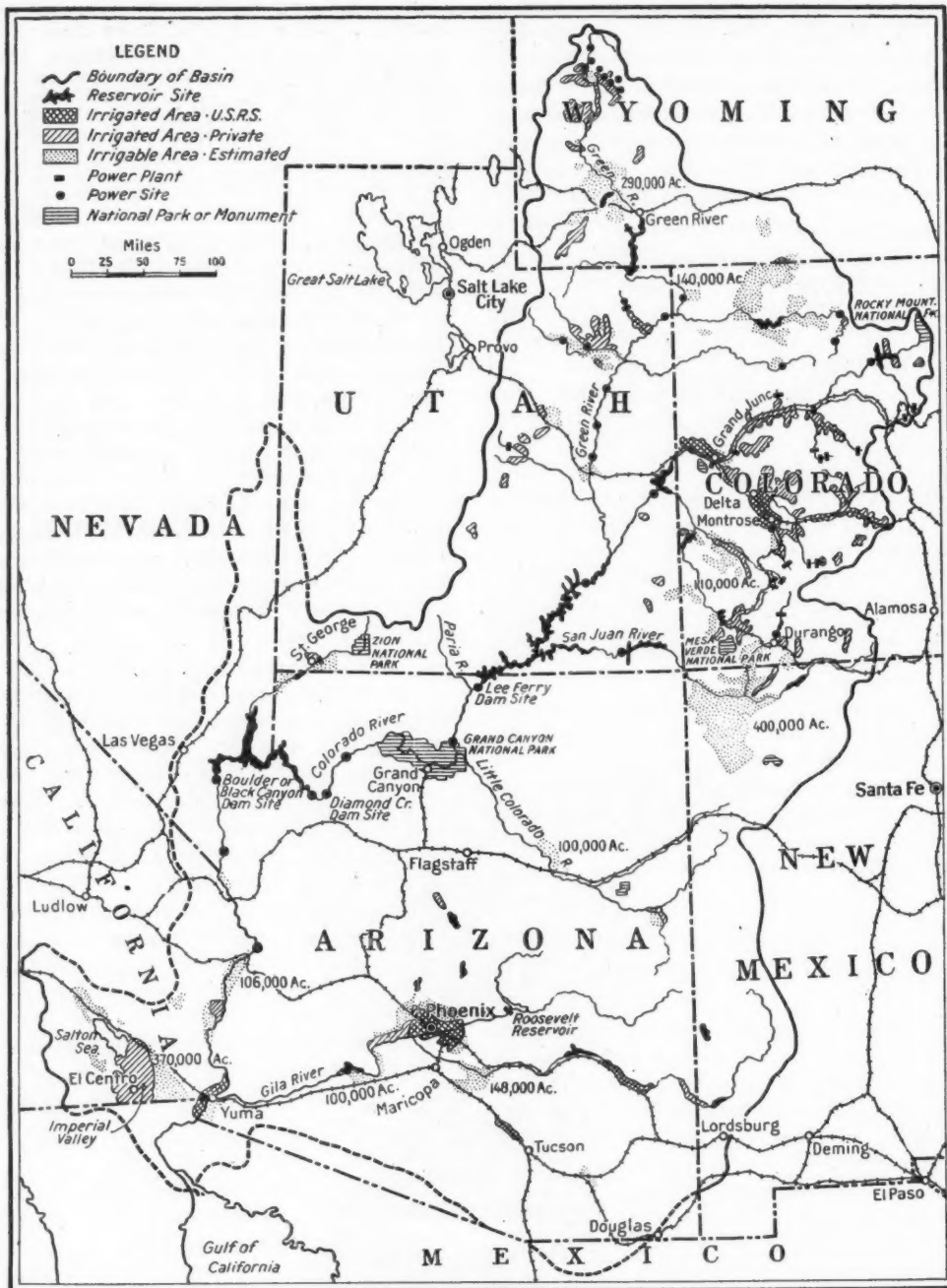
Here we reach the second point of this whole strange movement. In the toying with moods in a warm room lit by candle

light, there may be sentimentality, but not among a horde of wild boys and girls, storming through wind and weather, bathing in the ice-cold river, dancing the wild old folk-dances, sleeping in straw, month in and month out. That was the natural impulse, to ease the raging and foaming of their souls. There we have it: Storm and stress. What is born in the depth of your adoring, loving soul, which you make so humble, so trembling with thanks, can never be unclean, can never be ignoble. But what is done against your better feeling, deceiving yourself and the other, that is vulgar, that makes a man worse than a beast. Therefore be true! One feels the divine inspiration which palpitates in these words and glows in the gleaming eyes of these wild stormers.

What has now happened to these nice boys? Did the war show them that there is a reality in the world, which will pass over their heads if they do not look out for it? Yes, but that story is long and will follow later.



THE AREA AFFECTED BY THE COLORADO RIVER COMPACT



The project embodied in the treaty signed by the States of Colorado, Nevada, Wyoming, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and California aims at converting hundreds of thousands of acres of arid land into fertile farms, preventing enormous losses through floods and erecting hydroelectric plants to distribute power from Los Angeles to Denver

THE SEVEN-STATE IRRIGATION TREATY

By EDGAR LLOYD HAMPTON*

First important treaty between States ever sanctioned by the Federal Government framed to control the Colorado River—Scheme to make habitable an area able to support 60,000,000 people by building huge dam—Immense hydro-electric power obtainable from waters descending 8,000 feet

THE agreement arrived at on Nov. 25, 1922, in a conference at Santa Fe, N. M., under the direction of Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, between the seven States in which the Colorado River basin lies will, if finally enacted into law, wipe from the calendar of American national progress a decade or so of future conflict both in and out of the courts, and in addition will constitute, with two minor exceptions, the first instance in more than 140 years of States of the Union being permitted by the Federal Government to enter into a treaty among themselves.

The treaty has to do with the allocation of the rights to the waters of the Colorado River. The States involved, seven in number, are Colorado, Nevada, Wyoming, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and California, these embracing the area of the Colorado's basin. Even the privilege of considering the question of the water rights to this interstate, international, navigable stream required a special act of Congress. The treaty, as finally signed, terminates a full year of debates and public hearings on the subject held under Government supervision both in the West and in Washington, D. C.; it brings to at least a temporary halt an interstate controversy, bitter and partisan, that has lasted more than a quarter of a century, while its adoption by Congress and the seven States involved would eliminate the final obstacle in the path of the Government's present huge plan of flood control, reclamation and hydroelectric develop-

ment on the Colorado River. Yet the chances of its enactment into law seem increasingly remote. This, the most potential and constructive industrial document in the history of the American Republic, seems destined to defeat for reasons so many and so complicated as to justify further elucidation.

The Colorado, in regard to its geographic area, is the third largest river in the United States. It rises in the Rocky Mountains of Wyoming, with its chief tributaries in Utah and Colorado, and flows in a southwesterly direction across the seven States, across some hundred and fifty miles of Northern Mexico, and empties into the Gulf of California. The area of its basin is 244,000 square miles. Thus, it is larger than the Yukon basin, larger than the Ohio basin, four times larger than the Rhine Valley, thirty-two times larger than the Hudson and thirty-five times larger than the Thames. It may be interesting here to note that these 244,000 square miles represent an empire larger than the whole of France and half of Spain combined. This area, even at the present time, is fairly well developed; it irrigates some 2,500,000 acres, produces annually some \$300,000,000 worth of various products, supports more than 3,000,000 people, and includes within its metropolitan area Denver, Los Angeles and all the cities and towns that lie between.

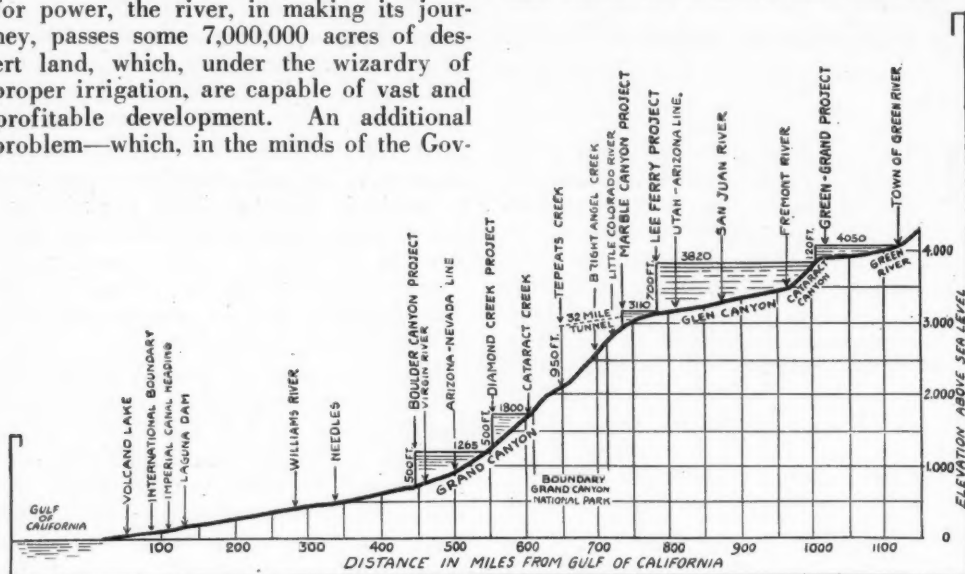
*Mr. Hampton has been for seventeen years an editor and publisher of newspapers and magazines on the Pacific Coast, and is also the author of a number of books.

In achieving its journey from source to mouth the Colorado River travels a distance of 1,700 miles and descends more than 8,000 feet, which latter fact discloses its vast possibilities from a hydroelectric standpoint; for the St. Lawrence, in traveling 1,800 miles, drops only 600 feet; the Tennessee River (Muscle Shoals) drops less than 400 feet, while Niagara Falls has less than a 300-foot descent for the generation of power.

In addition to these vast possibilities for power, the river, in making its journey, passes some 7,000,000 acres of desert land, which, under the wizardry of proper irrigation, are capable of vast and profitable development. An additional problem—which, in the minds of the Gov-

ernment radiate. To understand the nature and scope of the obstacles in the path of the present pact, one must take into consideration (1) the origin and flow of the Colorado River, (2) the present degree of development attained in the several States and (3) the various laws which today control the water rights to rivers in the United States.

The business of supplying the waters that constitute the Colorado was left by



Profile of the lower Colorado showing the great descent of the river and the location and elevation of the different proposed dams and reservoirs. (Prepared by the United States Geological Survey)

ernment and the people directly involved, is more critical in nature than all the rest combined, and which in the final analysis has added greatly to the complications surrounding the present pact—has to do with the disastrous floods which levy their annual toll along the lower basin.

The foundation upon which has been erected a superstructure of jealousy, suspicion and bickering among the several States for so many years is discovered in that tense climax seen so often in the Frederic Remington pictures and seen many times in the actual, everyday life of the West—the battle over the water-hole, the struggle to possess land with a spring or a flowing well. Here is the

nature largely to the four States of the upper basin. These States, with but 96,000 of the 244,000 square miles of area, supply 87 per cent. of the river's annual run-off. On the other hand, the lower States, which supply but 13 per cent. of the water, are possessed of very much the larger part of the irrigable area. They therefore require, under the present increased state of their development, at least three or four times as much of the annual run-off as do the States of the upper area. The upper States admit their inability to use their full quota of the water now allotted them for perhaps forty or fifty years, while California and Arizona desire to use their quota of the river's flow at



A section of the Palo Verde district where 40,000 acres were under flood from June to September, 1922, on account of the waters of the Colorado River not being properly regulated

once, and are indeed, continually and increasingly using it at the present time.

Hence the two horns of the dilemma. If the States of the upper basin should defer to the lower States and relinquish their sovereign rights, their title to any portion of the waters that had been previously appropriated by the lower States would disappear forever, in accordance with the laws of the United States pertaining to water rights as they now exist.

The archives of the Government are not without ample documentary evidence covering the rights of States and of individuals to the use of water in our various creeks and rivers. In the early days the common-law doctrine of riparian rights prevailed. The riparian doctrine conceded that the owner of land through which a river flows owns to the middle of the stream; that he may withdraw water for use on these contiguous lands, and that no one shall lessen the flow of the river past his holdings. He cannot, however, under this law, use the waters of a river except upon lands immediately adjacent.

Such is the riparian law, still in effect throughout the eastern part of the United States.

Throughout the West, however, this law, or method of procedure, has been definitely modified. The modification dates from the great placer mining period, the "days of '49." In those days of intensive gold seeking along a thousand Pacific Coast creeks and rivers it often occurred that a placer mine was located in a dry gulch, away from a flowing stream. Water being required for the washing out of gold, the miner proceeded to the nearest river, built his flume and carried the water he required for mining and domestic purposes across hills and mountains to the dry gulch containing his gold mine. By common consent his right to this water was respected by other miners.

WATER RIGHTS IN THE WEST

The custom became a fixed rule of conduct, and, blossoming forth finally into law, it became what is now known throughout the world as the Doctrine of



A canal and levee dredge at work in Imperial Valley, where \$500,000 is spent annually in protection against the flood waters of the Colorado River

Prior Appropriation, under the terms of which any one may take from a river, not otherwise appropriated, such water as he is able to apply in useful pursuits, carry it perhaps to some distant region, and by this act gain title for all time to the annual amount appropriated. This form of title has long been recognized in most of the Western States, applying, however, to the waters within each State. In June, 1922, however, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision in the case of *Wyoming vs. Colorado*—a case that had been pending eleven years and dealing with an interstate stream—wherein it held that the Doctrine of Prior Appropriation applied also to interstate streams, provided that each of the States had previously recognized the prior appropriation law. That decision settled the question in regard to the water rights on all interstate streams, and it settled it in regard to the rights on the Colorado River, since each of the seven States involved had long accepted the Doctrine of Prior Appropriation. It follows, then, that any of these seven States which has hitherto appropriated, or which later shall appropriate, a prepon-

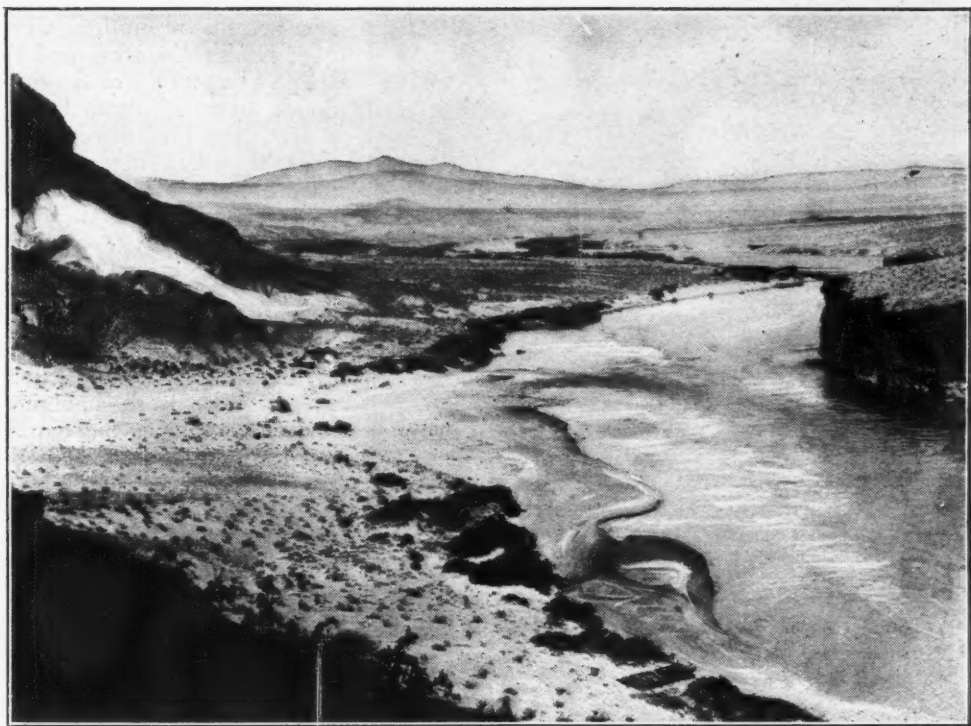
derance of the Colorado River's waters acquires thereby a perpetual title to them. Thus arises the situation confronting the seven States, the cause of their spite and suspicion and twenty-five years of bickering, and the natural difficulties challenging all efforts to reach an agreement.

The commission, known as the Colorado River Commission, consisting of one member from each of the seven States, with Herbert Hoover as Chairman, appointed for the purpose of reaching such an agreement as the one now under discussion, finally signed a compact under the terms of which the Colorado basin is theoretically bisected into two divisions—the upper, comprising Colorado, Utah, Wyoming and New Mexico, and the lower, including California, Arizona and Nevada. It then proceeded to apportion to each of these divisions a volume of the river's annual runoff equal to 7,500,000 acre feet, this partition covering a period of forty years. It permitted also, if required, an additional 1,000,000 acre feet to the lower division, this amount to come out of the surplus, since the annual flow of the Colorado averages some 18,000,000 acre feet.

This allocation of the river's flow may appear to be a just one, and perhaps it

is. Yet it has left the minds of the people in at least some of the States in a condition of fear and confusion. The four States of the upper division appear to look with satisfaction upon the terms of the agreement. Since their demands upon the river's maximum supply are a question for future years, and since the agreement awards them a volume three times as great as they now are able to utilize, they consider the pact one that will reasonably safeguard the interests of their future gen-

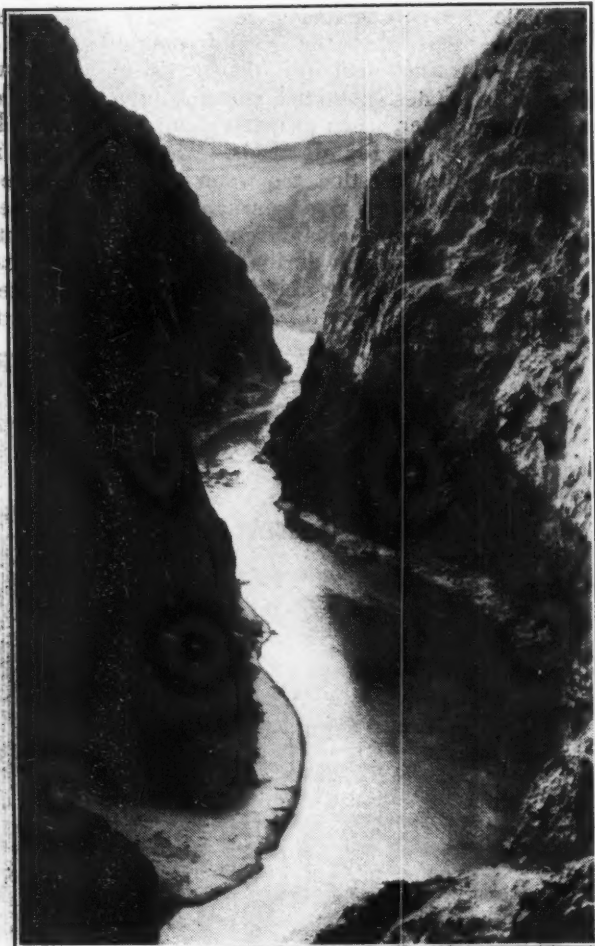
This statement might leave the impression that the river's annual run-off is insufficient for the needs of the seven States. On the contrary, the volume of water, when properly controlled, would be ample for all needs. The tragedy lies in the fact that the water is not controlled. Here is a river, perhaps the most treacherous and recalcitrant river on the continent, which during ten months of the year runs a bare 5,000 second feet of water, yet which during the remaining sixty



Low-water stage of the Colorado River at a point in Northern Arizona, showing the alluvial character of the soil

erations. Not so the States of Arizona and California. These States, and especially California, being far ahead of the neighboring States in industrial development, have required, and are now using, as previously stated, a very much larger percentage of the river's run-off than are the upper States. Indeed, the various irrigation projects in these lower States now use, at the low-water period of the year, the entire volume of water that comes down the Colorado.

days, due to the melting snows, turns into a veritable torrent, leaving its banks and devastating tens of thousands of acres of farms and homes, with a volume of water which, during this freshet period, passes 250,000 second feet, 90 per cent. of which is wasted in the sea. The wastage is the direct result of the absence of impounding reservoirs. An ample reservoir would multiply by ten times the irrigation possibilities of the Colorado basin, while in its absence the States of the lower region



Boulder Canyon, showing the Colorado River at low-water stage

are left with barely sufficient water, when wholly utilized, to supply their needs during the irrigation season.

At the present time, in the absence of a storage dam, Arizona and California require the entire volume of the river's run-off. The title to this water, under the Prior Appropriation Doctrine and the recent decision of the Supreme Court, belongs to them for all time to come. Yet under the compact framed by the commission and signed by the representatives of all seven States, the States of the lower division relinquish the right to one-half of their present water titles, while the pact gives them nothing in return and makes

no provision for their relief in the shape of storage reservoirs.

It is true that the commission did, following the signing of the compact, pass a resolution, in which it urged the Government to construct a dam on the Colorado for the purpose of storage and flood control. This resolution seems to have pacified a few of the less discerning. Yet, when it is remembered that it is the pact itself, and not the resolution, which goes before Congress and the Legislatures of the seven States, in an effort to become a law, and that mere resolutions regarding the pact will receive no consideration, and have no standing in law, one is led to wonder why the commission took the trouble to pass this resolution. The fact remains that the clause which purports to protect the States of the lower basin in their present titles is so ambiguous in construction as to be practically unintelligible. Few of those who have read it carefully can see in its phraseology any degree of protection for the regions to which it applies. They contend that, in the absence of any provision for storage reservoirs, the States of the lower basin, in signing the pact, have relinquished the

title to one-half of the water that they now possess, and that the pact leaves them wholly without protection against their yet more persistent enemy, the annual floods.

Here is the final phase of the situation—the problem of floods. The commission's manner of meeting this situation has left the people of the lower basin in a much disturbed state of mind. The question of annual floods along the lower Colorado has grown increasingly difficult throughout the years. Each midsummer, without fail, the flood-mad Colorado, under the urge of the rapidly melting snows, goes on a wild rampage, escapes from its banks, spreads itself at places to a latitude of

fifty miles, sometimes breaks the defensive levees and destroys millions of dollars worth of homes and agricultural products. Midsummer of 1922 found it running twenty feet deep over 40,000 acres of Palo Verde Valley, for a period of more than two months, with \$5,000,000 worth of homes and property destroyed. In the year 1906 it broke its levees and permanently destroyed 50,000 acres of Imperial Valley.

DISASTROUS FLOODS

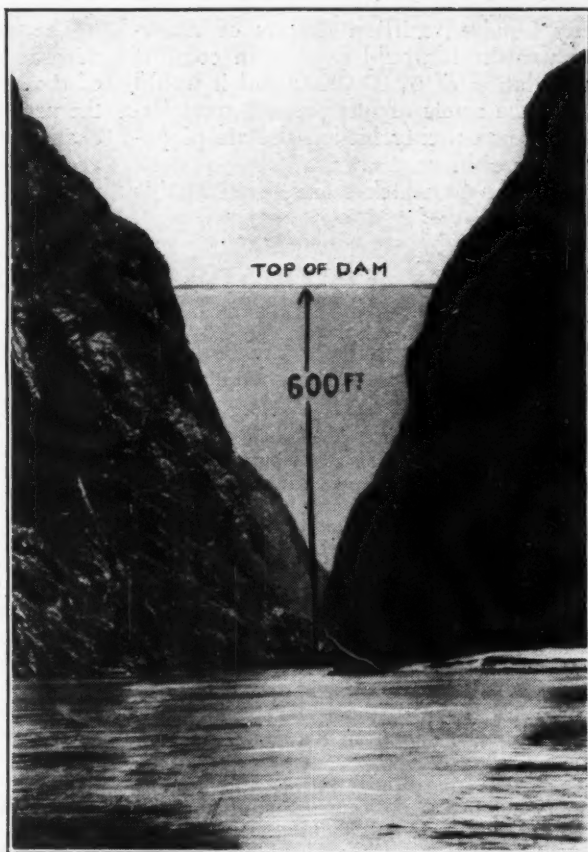
So the disaster runs. The number of villages and towns involved will aggregate more than twenty. The areas are inhabited by 75,000 people, and the potential wealth involved is close to \$800,000,000. All these each year stand in imminent danger of destruction from the Colorado's annual floods.

It was because of knowledge of these facts that the Government, in all its considerations of Colorado River development, has concentrated, in preference to other phases, upon the question of dealing with the control of floods. Having this purpose in mind, it has laid tentative plans for the building of a huge dam at a point some 500 miles up the Colorado to impound the flood waters and protect the endangered areas. This dam, known as Boulder Dam, would permanently solve the problem of the annual floods, and would also save for useful purposes that 90 per cent. of the river's run-off which now goes into the sea. It would likewise furnish for the lower basin that requisite amount of water which it feels it may relinquish through the adoption of the pact.

It was the failure of the commission to recognize in any adequate way the necessity for this Government dam that has caused the people of the lower basin to view the compact with serious misgivings. While the

building of such dams is in the hands, not of the commission, but of the Reclamation Service, they feel that the States involved should have put into the pact an endorsement of the Government's project. They look with suspicion upon the fact that it saw fit to offer, instead, only a resolution, which every one knows can become no part of the law.

Giving still further cause for concern is a rumor, whose origin is untraceable, to the effect that the upper basin States, which have persistently opposed the Government's plan at Boulder Canyon, have now a plan of their own for a dam some 500 miles further up the Colorado, through the utilization of which, under the terms of the agreement, as signed, they will be able to divert a full half of the Colorado's flow to valleys and other



Site of the proposed dam at Boulder Canyon. This is the chief project for the regulation of the Colorado River

projects not even within the Colorado basin.

While this epoch-making document, the first of its sort ever contemplated in the United States, has been duly drafted and signed, the question which it deals with may not yet have been permanently settled. The importance of that question lies in the tremendous aggregate possibilities of the proposed development. The Government plan includes the control of annual floods, the reclamation of 7,000,000 acres of arid lands, and the development, through a series of impounding dams, of 6,000,000 horsepower of hydroelectric energy. Yet even the magnitude of these physical developments is far eclipsed by the nation-building character of the enterprise. The development of this vast area would create out of a region formerly uninhabited an industrial and agricultural empire capable of producing each year many hundred million dollars of American wealth; it would support in comfort a population of 60,000,000; and it would add to the assets of our present great Republic some twenty billion dollars of potential wealth.

One thought which seems, even at this

early date, to have crystallized in the minds of the people of the lower States, gives sign of a possible solution. They contend that if the Government should at once proceed with its present plan for a dam at Boulder Canyon, or should furnish the States with a definite guarantee of the fulfillment of this project, then the pact might safely be signed by the lower States. In the absence of this guarantee the disposition is to withhold their official endorsement. Mr. Hoover, in an address before the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce on Dec. 5, 1922, in discussing the treaty, said: "If you fail to ratify this pact, you will delay Colorado River development for at least a generation. Neither must you rely on any Federal assistance so long as a disagreement exists among yourselves." Yet a ratification of the pact under its present status might impair the future of three of our sovereign States.

The treaty awaits now the judgment and wisdom of Congress and the Legislatures of the seven Commonwealths. Considering the present and pending complications, the chances of the document weathering the aggregate storms of dissension seem highly problematical.

COLORADO RIVER COMPACT

THE following is the text of the Colorado River Compact, signed at Santa Fé, N. M., Nov. 24, 1922:

The States of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming, having resolved to enter into a compact under the act of the Congress of the United States of America approved Aug. 19, 1921 (42 Statutes at large, page 171), and the acts of the Legislatures of the said States, have through their Governors appointed as their Commissioners: W. S. Norviel for the State of Arizona, W. F. McClure for the State of California, Delph E. Carpenter for the State of Colorado, J. G. Scrugham for the State of Nevada, Stephen B. Davis Jr. for the State of New Mexico, R. E. Caldwell for the State of Utah, Frank C. Emerson for the State of Wyoming, who, after negotiations participated in by Herbert Hoover, appointed by the President as the representative of the United States of America, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 1—The major purposes of this compact are to provide for the equitable division and apportionment of the use of the waters of the

Colorado River system; to establish the relative importance of different beneficial uses of water; to promote interstate comity; to remove causes of present and future controversies; and to secure the expeditious agricultural and industrial development of the Colorado River basin, the storage of its waters and the protection of life and property from floods. To these ends the Colorado River basin is divided into two basins, and an apportionment of the use of part of the water of the Colorado River system is made to each of them, with the provision that further equitable apportionments may be made.

ARTICLE 2—As used in this compact:

(a) The term "Colorado River system" means that portion of the Colorado River and its tributaries within the United States of America.

(b) The term "Colorado River Basin" means all of the drainage area of the Colorado River system and all other territory within the United States of America to which the waters of the Colorado River system shall be beneficially applied.

(c) The term "States of the Upper Division"

means the States of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming.

(d) The term "States of the Lower Division" means the States of Arizona, California and Nevada.

(e) The term "Lee Ferry" means a point in the main stream of the Colorado River one mile below the mouth of the Paria River.

(f) The term "Upper Basin" means those parts of the States of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming within and from which waters naturally drain into the Colorado River system above Lee Ferry, and also all parts of said States located without the drainage area of the Colorado River system which are now or shall hereafter be beneficially served by waters diverted from the system above Lee Ferry.

(g) The term "Lower Basin" means those parts of the States of Arizona, California, Nevada, New Mexico and Utah within and from which waters naturally drain into the Colorado River system below Lee Ferry, and also all parts of said States located without the drainage area of the Colorado River system which are now or shall hereafter be beneficially served by waters diverted from the system below Lee Ferry.

(h) The term "Domestic Use" shall include the use of water for household, stock, municipal, mining, milling, industrial and other like purposes, but shall exclude the generation of electrical power.

ARTICLE 3 (a) There is hereby apportioned from the Colorado River system in perpetuity to the upper basin and to the lower basin respectively the exclusive beneficial consumptive use of 7,500,000 acre feet of water per annum, which shall include all water necessary for the supply of any rights which may now exist.

(b) In addition to the apportionment in paragraph (a), the lower basin is hereby given the right to increase its beneficial consumptive use of such waters by 1,000,000 acre feet per annum.

(c) If, as a matter of international comity, the United States of America shall hereafter recognize in the United States of Mexico any right to the use of any waters of the Colorado River system, such water shall be supplied first from the waters which are surplus over and above the aggregate of the quantities specified in paragraphs (a) and (b); and if such surplus shall prove insufficient for this purpose, then the burden of such deficiency shall be equally borne by the upper basin and the lower basin, and whenever necessary the States of the upper division shall deliver at Lee Ferry water to supply one-half of the deficiency so recognized in addition to that provided in paragraph (d).

(d) The States of the upper division will not cause the flow of the river at Lee Ferry to be depleted below an aggregate of 75,000,000 acre feet for any period of ten consecutive years reckoned in containing progressive series be-

ginning with the first day of October next, succeeding the ratification of this compact.

(e) The States of the upper division shall not withhold water, and the States of the lower division shall not require the delivery of water, which cannot reasonably be applied to domestic and agricultural uses.

(f) Further equitable apportionment of the beneficial uses of the waters of the Colorado River system unapportioned by paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) may be made in the manner provided in paragraph (g) at any time after Oct. 1, 1963, if and when either basin shall have reached its total beneficial consumptive use as set out in paragraphs (a) and (b).

(g) In the event of a desire for a further apportionment as provided in paragraph (f) any two signatory States, acting through their Governors, may give joint notice of such desire to the Governors of the other signatory States and to the President of the United States of America, and it shall be the duty of the Governors of the signatory States and of the President of the United States of America forthwith to appoint representatives, whose duty it shall be to divide and apportion equitably between the upper basin and lower basin the beneficial use of the unapportioned water of the Colorado River system as mentioned in paragraph (f), subject to the legislative ratification of the signatory States and the Congress of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 4—(a) Inasmuch as the Colorado River has ceased to be navigable for commerce and the reservation of its waters for navigation would seriously limit the development of its basin, the use of its waters for purposes of navigation shall be subservient to the uses of such waters for domestic, agricultural and power purposes. If the Congress shall not consent to this paragraph, the other provisions of this compact shall nevertheless remain binding.

(b) Subject to the provisions of this compact, water of the Colorado River system may be impounded and used for the generation of electrical power, but such impounding and use shall be subservient to the use and consumption of such water for agricultural and domestic purposes and shall not interfere with or prevent use for such dominant purposes.

(c) The provisions of this article shall not apply to or interfere with the regulation and control by any State within its boundaries of the appropriation, use and distribution of water.

ARTICLE 5—The chief official of each signatory State charged with the administration of water rights, together with the Director of the United States Reclamation Service and the Director of the United States Geological Survey, shall co-operate, ex officio:

(a) To promote the systematic determination and co-ordination of the facts as to flow, appro-

priation, consumption and use of water in the Colorado River basin, and the interchange of available information in such matters.

(b) To secure the ascertainment and publication of the annual flow of the Colorado River at Lee Ferry.

(c) To perform such other duties as may be assigned by mutual consent of the signatories from time to time.

ARTICLE 6—Should any claim or controversy arise between any two or more of the signatory States: (a) with respect to the waters of the Colorado River system not covered by the terms of this compact; (b) over the meaning or performance of any of the terms of this compact; (c) as to the allocation of the burdens incident to the performance of any article of this compact or the delivery of waters as herein provided; (d) as to the construction or operation of works within the Colorado River basin to be situated in two or more States, or to be constructed in one State for the benefit of another State; or (e) as to the diversion of water in one State for the benefit of another State; the Governors of the States affected, upon the request of one of them, shall forthwith appoint Commissioners with power to consider and adjust such claim or controversy, subject to ratification by the Legislatures of the States so affected.

Nothing herein contained shall prevent the adjustment of any such claim or controversy by any present method or by direct future legislative action of the interested States.

ARTICLE 7—Nothing in this compact shall be construed as affecting the obligations of the United States of America to Indian tribes.

ARTICLE 8—Present perfected rights to the beneficial use of waters of the Colorado River system are unimpaired by this compact. Whenever storage capacity of 5,000,000 acre feet shall have been provided on the main Colorado River within or for the benefit of the lower basin, then claims of such rights, if any, by appropriators or users of water in the lower basin against appropriators or users of water in the upper basin shall attach to and be satisfied from water that may be stored not in conflict with Article 3.

All other rights to beneficial use of waters of the Colorado River system shall be satisfied solely from the water apportioned to that basin in which they are situate.

ARTICLE 9—Nothing in this compact shall be construed to limit or prevent any State from instituting or maintaining any action or proceeding, legal or equitable, for the protection of any right under this compact or the enforcement of any of its provisions.

ARTICLE 10—This compact may be terminated at any time by the unanimous agreement of the signatory States. In the event of such termination all rights established under it shall continue unimpaired.

ARTICLE 11—This compact shall become binding and obligatory when it shall have been approved by the Legislature of each of the signatory States and by the Congress of the United States. Notice of approval by the Legislatures shall be given by the Governor of each signatory State to the Governors of the other signatory States and to the President of the United States, and the President of the United States is requested to give notice to the Governors of the signatory States of approval by the Congress of the United States.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Commissioners have signed this compact in a single original, which shall be deposited in the archives of the Department of State of the United States of America and of which a duly certified copy shall be forwarded to the Governor of each of the signatory States.

DONE at the City of Santa Fé, New Mexico, this twenty-fourth day of November, A. D. One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-two.

W. S. NORVIEL,
W. F. MCCLURE,
DELPH E. CARPENTER,
J. G. SCRUGHAM,
STEPHEN B. DAVIS JR.
R. E. CALDWELL,
FRANK C. EMERSON.

Approved:
HERRERT HOOVER.



THE GROWING ARMY OF WOMEN WORKERS

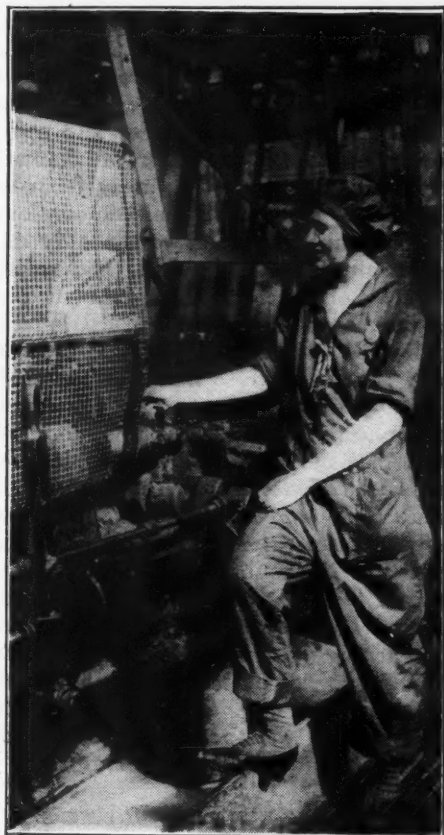
By MARY ANDERSON
Director, Women's Bureau,
United States Department of Labor

Eight and a half million women now engaged in gainful occupations—Urgent necessity of improved working conditions—Fallacy of paying women as individuals instead of as supporters of families

A GREAT many people have speculated, both in speech and in print, on the increase of women in occupational pursuits during the last decade. It was thought that during the war, at least, there had been a great increase of women in industrial pursuits, but not until the census figures for 1920 were available did we find to what extent we were right or wrong in our surmises. When the census figures were published we found that, as a whole, there had been an actual increase of nearly half a million in the number of women gainfully employed in the last ten years. This, however, is a very small increase when compared with the previous decade, for between 1900 and 1910 women gainfully employed increased nearly three millions.

It is necessary, then, that our calculations should take us further than the total increase in order to find out the significance of the census figures, since these figures also point to striking decreases in certain important classes of occupation. Notable among these groups are agricultural pursuits and domestic and personal service. Here the decreased numbers seem startling. Women in domestic and personal service have decreased 344,297 in this one decade. This situation is particularly significant in that the greatest part of the decrease has occurred among the domestics and laundresses. The Census Bureau includes under the heading "domestic and personal service" all persons who cater directly to our personal needs, with the exception of physicians, trained nurses, healers and others, who are classified un-

der "professional service." Among the occupations included in domestic and personal service are barbers, hairdressers,



Symbolical of women's invasion of industry—a girl working at a lathe, this being an occupation which at one time was regarded as exclusively man's

manicures, bootblacks, elevator tenders, janitors and sextons, laundry operatives, midwives and nurses (not trained), porters, bartenders, bathhouse keepers and attendants; and cleaners and renovators. Certain proprietary occupations are likewise placed in this class, such as laundry owners, officials and managers; restaurant, café and lunchroom keepers; hotel-keepers and managers; boarding and lodging house keepers; saloon keepers and billiard room, dance hall and skating rink keepers.

The designation "domestic and personal service," then, takes in a much larger group than just workers in household occupations, although these women comprise nearly half of those in this general division of occupations. Many reasons are assigned for the decrease which occurred chiefly among the women domestics and laundresses. We may say that it is due to the perfecting of machines for household service and the widespread adoption of such machines; to the moving of families from large houses into apartments because of the lack of domestic help; and also to getting away from the "living-in" system for domestic employes and the employment of women only during certain hours of the day. The general adoption of mechanical devices such as the vacuum cleaner, the electrical laundry appliances, the iceless refrigerators and many other devices lightens household work and lessens the necessity for domestic service. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the women who have left domestic and personal service are not now gainfully employed. During the war many of them entered into industrial pursuits, and no doubt many of them have retained their positions in industry, liking this work because of the freedom obtained through having definite hours and knowing that after working hours their time was their own, and also because of the higher esteem the factory workers enjoy in comparison to domestic servants.

FEWER WOMEN FARM WORKERS

The decrease of over a million and a half women farm laborers is another significant factor in the figures showing so

small an increase of women gainfully employed. One of the reasons for this decrease is the difference in the time of year for which the census was taken in 1920. In 1910 the Bureau of the Census took the count in April, while in 1920 it was taken in January, when there is very little work for women on farms. The women who would consider themselves as farm laborers during the Summer season would not, perhaps, give that as their occupation in January, so there would naturally be a smaller number reported in the latter month. It may be, too, that the machine age has something to do with this decrease. The work on the farm is more and more becoming work for machine tenders and mechanics rather than the every-day drudgery of hand work. Therefore, perhaps some part of this decrease may be attributed to the invention of machines for farm labor.

Against the great decreases just described, important increases are recorded in other groups. The real significance of the changes in employment of women during the past decade is found in their shifting from one occupation to another. In the decade 1900 to 1910 the greatest increase was in industrial occupations, but between 1910 and 1920 the greatest increase took place in business and professional occupations for women.

Women in clerical occupations almost trebled in the decade between 1910 and 1920. Perhaps the increase can be traced partly to the fact that clerical work is supposed to be on a little higher scale than work in factories or in domestic service. A certain amount of education is necessary for clerical occupations, and this education has been more generally secured as a result of the compulsory education laws and facilities at night school.

In manufacturing and mechanical industries there has been an increase of over 100,000 women. Particularly great increases of women occurred in the food, iron and steel, and clothing industries; in silk, knitting, electrical supplies, shoe, cigar and tobacco factories, and in cotton mills. The most striking figure of all is that for automobile factories, in which the women increased 1408 per cent. during ten years. In the iron and steel industry

women who were semi-skilled operatives increased 145.4 per cent. Although many occupations included in manufacturing and mechanical industries showed marked increases, on the whole the proportion which women employed in this group formed of all women gainfully employed was slightly smaller in 1920 than in 1910. We might consider this as a natural evolution. First, the women left the home and followed the home industries into the factories, thereby shifting from home occupations to factory occupations with pay. This was the significant change in one decade. In the next decade the evolution goes on, and it is very natural that the greatest proportionate increase in the women gainfully employed should be in higher positions, in better paid positions and in positions with authority. This is history in the woman movement which no one can afford to overlook.

8,500,000 WOMEN WAGE EARNERS

The development is not only of the past decade. Going back to the census figures of 1880 we learn that at that time more than 14,500,000 men and more than 2,500,000 women over ten years of age were in gainful occupations, while in 1920 more than 33,000,000 men and 8,500,000 women over ten years of age were so classified. It is apparent that forty years the rate of increase has been very much greater among women than among men, the per cent. increase being 124.2 for men and 223.0 for women. That the percentage of increase among women in the period 1880 to 1910 was almost double that among men proves that the encroachment of women in industry was not caused by the war, but was already well under way for several decades. During the ten years immediately preceding the war women wage earners increased in numbers at a higher rate than did men in several of the most important industrial States. For example, in New York the increase of male wage earners was 22.8 per cent. and that of the women wage earners 25.7 per cent.; in New Jersey the corresponding figures were 38.7 and 55.5; in Pennsylvania 20.3 and 35.8; in Illinois 33.2 and 37.2. The list might be very much extended, a total

of 25 States and the United States as a whole showing this condition of a higher percentage increase for women than for men.

Although the records of the employment of women in other wage-earning pursuits show perhaps more striking figures, the past few years have seen a remarkable development of their employment in industries. When spinning, weaving, the making of clothes and shoes, and all the other industrial pursuits once followed in the home were developed as factory industries, women were still called upon to conduct many of the operations, and thereby became part of the army of gainfully employed. Naturally, they have not been restricted to these transplanted industries, but have entered other avenues of employment as occasion offered. Nevertheless, they are still massed in very great numbers in certain industrial pursuits. A Federal investigation in 1908, which covered more than 167,000 women and child wage earners, disclosed the fact that women and girls formed approximately one-fourth of the wage earners in the making of tin cans and boxes, hardware, nuts, bolts and screws, pottery and stamped enameled ware; approximately one-third of the wage earners in the making of clocks and watches, rubber and elastic goods, jewelry and needles and pins; and one-half or more of those engaged in making cigars and tobacco, cigar boxes and paper boxes—all of these industries being in addition to the food and clothing industries essentially woman-employing. The large number of women in industrial pursuits present special problems of their own. When I began work as a piece worker in a boot and shoe factory in Illinois, there was very little said about the eight-hour day. We were then working ten hours, and little thought was given to the health of the working woman and what her welfare meant to the nation as a whole. In the second year of my factory work the State Legislature enacted an eight-hour day for women. That was more than twenty years ago, but I remember clearly that we worked one day of eight hours and the next day went back to the ten-hour day, because the Supreme Court of the State, in a surpris-

ingly short time, had rendered a decision that the law was unconstitutional.

. After this there was a long period during which the women in my trade became more and more united in organization, and finally we were able, through agreements with the manufacturers, to institute the nine-hour day. The eight-hour day by legislation was our goal. From that time on we were active in furthering legislation for workingwomen, but it was fifteen years from the time that the Illinois Legislature passed the short-lived eight-hour law before it again took up the question of regulating the hours of workingwomen and passed the ten-hour law, which is the present statute.

ORGANIZATION FOR BETTER CONDITIONS

While the first attempts to secure legislation had been made entirely by women who were interested in and in sympathy with workingwomen, the later efforts came from these women and the organized workers themselves, with the latter speaking for the workers, organized and unorganized, in the legislative hearings. What happened in the State of Illinois is happening in every State in the Union. As the women are becoming stronger, both politically and industrially, to that degree progress for women is being made. Everywhere the voice of the organized workingwomen is heard speaking in behalf of the workers.

In this connection it is important that the Federal Government should more and more interest itself in the human problem of the nation. The Department of Agriculture is of tremendous value in conserving animal and plant life, but what is of even greater value is the conservation of human life, and in this we come down, in the final analysis, to the importance of



A woman cabinetmaker demonstrating that the needle is not the only tool her sex can use

women. The woman as an individual has a right to health and happiness, but this individual right has a much larger significance when we think of the workingwoman as a mother or prospective mother.

It is the duty of the Federal Government, as I see it, to make sure that in our rush for industrial expansion and the ever-growing demand for more production, so that the world shall be adequately housed and fed, we do not exploit these women to the detriment of their individual selves and to the detriment of the country as a whole. The Federal Government has no mandatory powers to enforce laws for the regulation of women's work. We are a Government by the will of the people, with State autonomy. Therefore the enunciation of standards and policies by a Government agency such as the Women's Bu-

reau of the United States Department of Labor is a guidance rather than law, and serves to make uniform the actions of the several States, because as we legislate in forty-eight States we are prone also to legislate in many different ways. For instance, though we have the eight-hour day in eight States, this does not always include all the women workers in these States. Some laws cover the mercantile establishments only, others manufacturing and others take in hotels and restaurants. Legislation is uniform in scarcely any two States, and therefore the pointing out of the more inadequate and more or less haphazard way in which the States are legislating can best be done by a Federal agency. The State agencies have no adequate means of getting this all-round information, so that there must be some recognized source for data concerning the employment of women and some organization which can answer the often-repeated questions: "How many married women are there in industry and in what industries are they employed in the greatest numbers?" "Do the married women prefer night work because they can devote their daytime hours to the housework and the children?" "To what extent do women support families?" and many similar questions having to do with the family unit.

The demand is growing for such facts, and it is the duty of a Federal agency to supply them. It was a careful study of a large number of cases of lead poisoning among men and women, over a considerable period of time, which produced the evidence establishing the fact that lead poisoning is more injurious to women than it is to men, because the result may be that a woman's children will be born dead or will die during the first year after birth. Because of this knowledge, in some States laws have been passed prohibiting women's employment in occupations where the danger of contracting lead poisoning is great. Women are working in many other occupations where they are exposed to poisonous fumes and dust, but we have no evidence to show whether these elements are more or less dangerous to the women than to the men, and without such evidence there can be no just and wise legislation

regulating the employment of women in such places.

QUESTION OF EQUAL PAY

Another of the subjects on which facts are needed is the remuneration for work performed by women in industry. There is first the question of whether employes shall receive equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. Sufficient testimony by both employers and workers has been collected to show that women do just as good work and as much work as men, and are as faithful on the job, so that there is no excuse for a double standard of pay. Women are now, as they have always been, working to earn a living. Low wages for women mean an inadequate standard of living in families in which they are the chief support, and low wages for women mean a lower scale in those industries which they are entering in such large numbers. The theory of wages that establishes a lower scale for approximately one-fourth of the workers of the country—that is, the women—is a menace to the standard of living for the individual and the family, and therefore is hurtful to the citizenship of the whole country.

Again there is the question of minimum wage laws for women. Study of this subject is important, even essential. From investigations made by the Women's Bureau we have discovered that women are, to a very large degree, supporting families either wholly or in part, that young girls in large numbers bring their pay envelope home unopened, and thereby contribute every dollar to the family income. One is accustomed to think of the man as the head of the family, and for that reason, that the wages received by him should be adequate for a family budget. But when we think of women, we think of them as individuals, with little or no economic connection with the family. Thus we have in a large measure failed to realize that women do help to support families. We must no longer dissociate women from the family life, but take cognizance of the fact that the woman as well as the man is responsible for the family budget and that the wage she receives is money necessary to the maintenance of the family unit.

Minimum working standards which are essential to health and efficiency must also be set up. The lighting of factories, both natural and artificial, plays a prominent part in the efficiency of the workers, particularly where there is close stitching or inspection on shiny particles. Again, there is nothing so fatiguing to the workers as being confined long hours in poorly ventilated quarters. It goes without saying that thorough cleanliness in the workrooms and safety devices on dangerous machinery should be insisted upon, and that every possible attention should be given to safety measures so that the condition of the least possible amount of injury should prevail in industrial occupations; for we have been told over and over again, through investigations, that the industries of the country are taking far too heavy a toll in human life, and through accidents are incapacitating workers, wholly or in part, for the rest of their lives.

Since the Illinois Legislature passed the first eight-hour day for women, more than twenty years ago, there has been a marked change in the industrial conditions relating to women, owing largely to the increasing number of women in industry and to new social tendencies, but in no small

measure owing to the demands of the women themselves. Many elements enter into progress, such as constant agitation for better standards and a better understanding of industrial problems, and the fact that industry has become the dominant factor in the life of the nation. Willingly or unwillingly, people will have to take their stand on the industrial question; no one in the nation can escape. There is not an hour of the day that we are not confronted by it. The clothes we wear, the food we eat, the implements used in the household, all are a part of the industrial question.

It is not surprising, then, that the Government itself, in order to deal intelligently and effectively with this all-important subject, has set up a department, and bureaus within that department, to deal particularly with special phases of the problem. Women's progress in political life, in professional life, and in wage-earning pursuits has been phenomenal during the last ten years. It is inevitable that with this great progress should come a quickened interest in the fundamental problems which underlie the conditions of employment for those who were the real pioneers in the feminist movement—the women in industry.



Girls and women employed at a large automobile factory

THAT INTERNATIONAL PERSON, THE EMIGRANT

By FRED H. RINDGE JR.

Effect of American restrictions on the influx of aliens—Migration a world-wide problem—How foreign nations are regulating the exodus of their peoples—Hardships suffered by emigrants—A new view of Americanization

OUR knowledge of emigrant peoples and countries is far too meagre. We know that people have migrated since the beginning of history and will continue to migrate as long as there are conditions which push people out of some countries and attract them to others. Emigration and immigration are world problems, and not merely American ones. Nevertheless, as long as North America has three times the territory of Europe and the United States has one-third of all the world's wealth, we are sure to have immigrants. Over 30,000,000 have come to us in the last hundred years. The smallest number arrived in 1823, only 6,354, and the largest in 1907, 1,285,349. This enormous figure was nearly equaled again in 1914 (1,218,480), and would probably have been surpassed this fiscal year had it not been for our restriction law.

This law has been passed again, with some improvements, for two years more, and the new annual maximum is 357,803. The number from each country is limited to 3 per cent. of its foreign born in America in the census of 1910. Great Britain, Germany, Russia and Sweden did not nearly reach their assigned quotas last fiscal year, whereas a number of Central and Southeastern European countries passed their marks long before the fiscal year expired, on June 30. This clearly indicates one effect of the new law, namely, the reduction of immigration from Central and Southern Europe. These countries send only about 155,000, while the Northern groups can send over 200,000. In recent years the number of Southeastern peoples remaining in the country has also been considerably less in proportion than

the Northwestern groups. In the case of several nationalities, a larger number of people have returned to the old country than have been accepted here. There are causes which evidently repel, as well as attract! The creation of new republics, the desire to see relatives, old homes, after the long war interval, and changing conditions in Europe have also attracted many back to the Old World.

After visiting twenty-three countries, one hundred foreign cities, and thirty-six ports of embarkation to study this whole question, I realized that it is much more complicated than one imagines. The causes of emigration might be divided into two kinds—the "pushes" in countries of origin and the "pulls" in countries of destination. In the first group I discovered such causes as high birth rate, pressure for subsistence, lack of economic opportunity, high costs, burdens of taxation (so greatly increased since the war), religious persecution, political dissatisfaction, race subjugation, lack of educational opportunity, bad industrial conditions, fear of military service, class distinctions, social pressure and stimulation by returned emigrants, transportation agencies and prepaid tickets sent by friends already in America. Of course, war and the Peace Treaty have greatly modified these influences. For example, the Croats and Slovenes, once oppressed by Austria-Hungary, are now a part of independent Yugoslavia; Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Finns have formed their own republics and are no longer connected with Russia; while the Czechs and the Slovaks are united in one of the most hopeful new countries of Europe. Thus



Emigrant station at Danzig

there is less incentive for them to leave. As for the peoples of Austria and Bulgaria, they can barely gather enough money to emigrate. Germany has not nearly exhausted her assigned quota, and many Germans who came were obliged to pay about 45,000 marks for their third-class tickets (\$10,530 at normal exchange).

The "pulls" in countries of destination include many conditions the reverse of those already indicated. The number of prepaid tickets sent by relatives in America has steadily increased, until it is a main attraction. The New World offers big money, large opportunity, free education and religion, marvelous recreation, true democracy, and a great adventure. This is a combination difficult to resist.

The business of coming to America is a costly experience—far more costly than formerly. The emigrant must have faith, daring, patience and willingness to sacrifice family ties, home and possessions. He must secure his passport and visas for America and all countries through which

he will pass. He must endure long train journeys, trying customs examinations, inexplicable delays, crowded living conditions at the port, "delousing," vaccination and numerous medical examinations, a steerage trip, probably illness, poignant loneliness, more examinations, vast dread and infinite uncertainty. Money is but one of many requisites for an emigrant.

Recent interest of Americans in the immigrant has concentrated in the new laws. It is, however, not generally realized that these laws do not apply to Asiatics, Mexicans or other New World nations. These countries have been forced into a position of special favor. Japan has sent as many as 10,000 in a year under the "gentleman's agreement"; whereas, if the 3 per cent. restriction were applied to her, she could send only about 2,000. China, in like manner, could have sent last fiscal year only 1,703, instead of the 4,017 who actually came.

The publicity attendant upon our new law has been interesting, but not always truthful. The law has worked innumerable

hardships upon emigrants, consular authorities, steamship companies and our own Government. But it has worked better than many realize. Hardships have been due in large measure to the provision that only 20 per cent. of a country's yearly quota can land in any single month. Naturally, these quotas were exceeded, especially at first. When the law rather suddenly went into effect last June, about 11,000 aliens arrived at Ellis Island in excess of the allotted quota for that month. Most of them, however, were admitted by the Secretary of Labor, and his action was later legalized by Congress. Many have, however, been sent back. To see them return to European ports—money and hope gone—is truly a tragic sight. The blame for this situation cannot be placed upon any one party or interest. Difficulties inherent in the law itself, comparative suddenness of its operation, competition of steamship companies in a greatly reduced traffic, uncertainty of American Consuls who granted visas, determination of emigrants to risk admission at all costs, all had their effect. Some emigrants started from far interior points weeks before others who were admitted, but they were too late to be counted within the quota, and were therefore debarred. One man was on the way from Persia six months.

The new law, which is in operation

from July 1, 1922, to July 1, 1924, contains several improvements. But it must be conceded that emigration is primarily a human rather than a statistical problem, and there will always be comedy and tragedy in abundance. Governmental and social agencies are wisely endeavoring to reduce the tragedy.

Two facts about recent immigration seem particularly significant. Jews have furnished a larger contingent than any other race, and, as place of birth (real or supposed) determines nationality, they have entered America bearing passports from Poland, Rumania, Hungary and other countries. Their relatives in America have been more generous with funds and steamship tickets than the relatives of any other race, and efficient Jewish emigrant societies have assisted them in every possible way. One-fourth of all the Jews in the world are now in the United States. Another interesting result is that a larger proportion of recent emigrants have gone to the interior and to the farms. This is in spite of the well-known fact that very few Jews attempt farming. The other elements of the new immigration have been more active in this respect. This result was anticipated, inasmuch as the majority of our new immigrants have been of Nordic stock, and this group has always been less at-



Russian refugees living in shacks of their own making just across the border in Poland, whence their greatest desire is to emigrate to America

tracted to our crowded cities and industrial centres.

In the early days of lax immigration laws foreign nations shipped us large numbers of their undesirables. With few exceptions, this is not true today. Some countries have, however, granted passports to people of undesired races on condition that they would never return. In other cases, secret marks to the same effect have been stamped on passports. The people who earn and save for years to stake everything on their trip to America generally have sterling qualities. On the other hand, over 80 per cent. of our present immigrants need save little or nothing themselves, for their relatives in America provide the required passage money or tickets. These people are frequently undesirable. Their home countries do not send them to us, but their friends here bring them. This fact also largely determines their distribution, for they naturally go to those who sent for them, and that is generally in overcrowded centres. At present a number of European countries, like Sweden, prefer to keep their people at home. Other nations, like Italy, must send a fair proportion of their inhabitants abroad each year, for birth rates are high, economic opportunities limited, and the safety valve may blow off. Italy has established over 800 schools for illiterates who desire to emigrate to the United States.

Most foreign Governments today have well-managed emigration bureaus with carefully prepared policies. These bureaus not only assume great responsibility for the welfare of their emigrants, but are prone to grant passports only to those who will worthily represent their mother country. The Governments now look upon their emigrants as great economic and political assets, and therefore direct them to destinations where they may do themselves, and more especially their homelands, the most good. For this the mother-country can hardly be blamed, especially as emigrants in the United States send back over \$600,000,000 in savings to Europe each year, in addition to their generous contributions for relief. Strenuous efforts are being made by some Governments and their Consuls in the United

States to hold the allegiance of their subjects, connect them with their own racial associations and societies, and encourage them to advance the interests of the mother country in every way possible. Some nations even propose to give their subjects in America, whether citizens or not, a voice in the politics of the mother country. In this divided allegiance there is grave danger for the United States, and the tendency is one to be understood and reckoned with.

The skill with which the press of Europe interprets American conditions to suit its own ends is nothing short of amazing. On the whole, however, it is only fair to say that news cabled by foreign Consuls is quite reliable, and that European papers give potential emigrants much sound advice as to what countries afford the best economic opportunities at a given time. As an illustration of this, I quote from one newspaper published in Spain during our industrial depression:

In the United States the crisis has revealed acute features, owing to the unremitting tide of immigration from other nations, attracted by very high wages paid during war time and the months that immediately followed. The invasion of foreign workmen during these latter times was more formidable than ever before in North America. People arrived without any specific destinations, guided only by news and the ambition for increased salaries, without suspecting that, even during their placid voyage, thousands of laborers were being thrown out of work from the same occupations which they themselves were going anxiously to apply for, and that, at the end of the trip, hard times awaited them.

During recent days there have been more than 300,000 without work in the City of New York alone, among whom many thousands of Spanish immigrants are enduring misery, forsaken by all the world and incapable of obtaining lucrative occupation or of returning to their fatherland.

Our Government has agreed to provide half the amount of return passage to those who desire to be repatriated; but there still remain thousands who find themselves unprovided with resources to cover the other half of their passage back, and are therefore unable to return.

After reading an article like this, the average potential emigrant reconsiders. As America makes no special effort to urge him to come, he stays, unless the well-planned advertising or selection by representatives of Canada, Brazil, Austra-

lia or some other labor-scant nation attracts him.

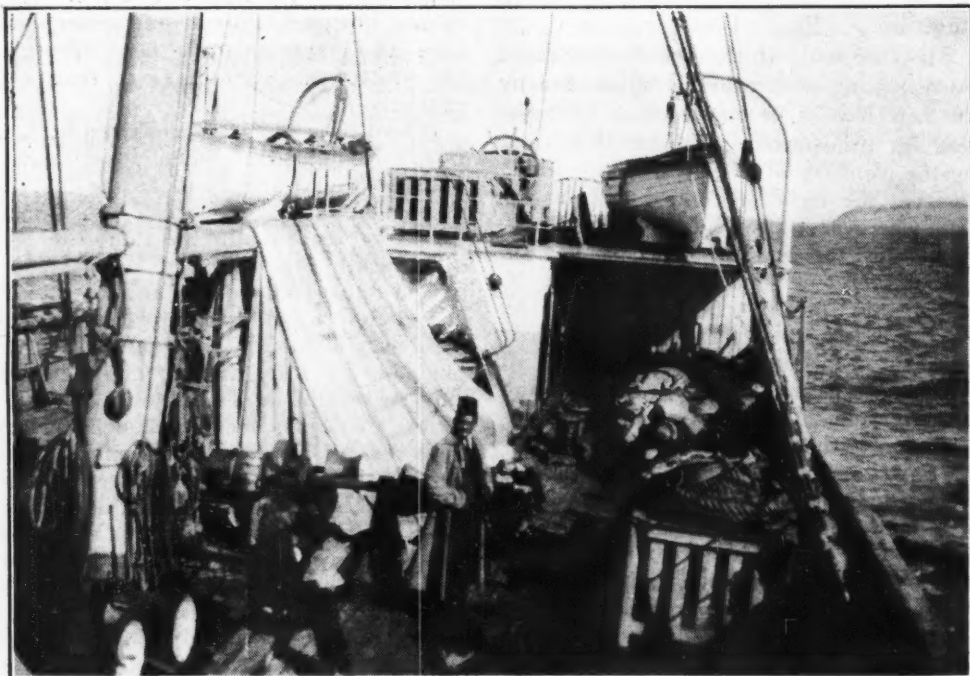
The care with which some Governments are directing emigration is illustrated by the new law in Czechoslovakia. Permission for transportation can be given only by the Ministry of Social Welfare, which reserves the right of control and inspection wherever transportation is managed. Agents of the emigration transportation business must personally guarantee and be responsible for all transactions made by their employees. They must keep their books in order and permit a survey of all business transacted in the transportation of emigrants. The agent may give transportation to the emigrant only on the basis of a written agreement, which includes clean food and lodging during the journey, and free medical attention. If the emigrant is not admitted to the country of destination, the transportation agent is obliged to provide free transportation to his last residence. Only steamships which strictly comply with the rules can carry emigrants. Special supervisors are authorized to see that the law is strictly observed, and are provided with free meals and transportation during both trips by the agent of the transporting office. There

are many other careful provisions. Italy, Spain, Portugal, Poland and other countries also have elaborate laws governing the protection and welfare of their emigrants.

Recently an emigrant debarred at Ellis Island exclaimed: "When I get back I shall do everything I can to see that the Bolsheviks destroy America." Yet there were good reasons why the authorities sent him back. Practically all who are debarred return with sorrow and resentment, and often to untold hardships. Home, possessions and money are gone. They are landed at a foreign port, and "home" may be several days' journey into the interior. This has led to frequent suggestions that all inspections now made at our ports of entry should be instituted at ports of embarkation, or, preferably, at our consulates in countries of origin. Canada has cordially received our emigrant inspectors in her midst for a dozen years, and the plan has met with considerable success. Several quiet experiments along this line are now being conducted by certain Vice Consuls abroad. But the plan is fraught with great international difficulties. Most nations resent our seeming interference and the new power we might have over their subjects in the event of inspection at



Guards, doctors, nurses and emigrants at the emigrant station at Naples



How some emigrants travel—the steerage of a steamer on its way from Constantinople to Piraeus, the port of Athens, where the passengers reship for America. Note the canvas under which people sleep on deck while making the trip

the source. The plan will require a huge expenditure and trained men at every consulate. Moreover, the immigrants would require another physical examination at our port of entry, because they might contract contagious disease between Warsaw and Ellis Island!

It is significant that the International Emigration Commission, meeting in Geneva last August, passed a resolution calling for effective examination of emigrants at ports or frontiers, with the object of reducing chances of rejection by the country of immigration. These examinations would inquire as to whether emigrants had complied with all conditions stipulated by countries of origin and destination. Good beginnings have already been made in the examinations by some countries of origin before granting passports; in the inspections conducted by steamship officials. Government doctors and United States Health Service representatives at most ports. But all this is a tremendous task, involving time. How great it is may be

judged from the fact that in 1913, the last normal year, the Port of Bremen alone sent out over 239,000 immigrants. There are at least fifty other important ports in Europe.

It must be emphasized again that the emigrant is an international person, and that many of his troubles may be alleviated by international co-operation and agreements. This is why fifty-four nations are already represented in the International Emigration Commission, which has been embarrassed, however, by the absence of the United States. In all probability international co-operation will lead to the suppression of misleading information so often given to credulous emigrants; the furnishing of reliable information and instruction; to closer regulation and supervision of emigrant agents and transportation companies; the economical routing of all passengers; the protection of women and children; insurance for the journey; guarantees of good conditions en route and at destination; adequate measures for

distribution and employment on arrival; equality of treatment for foreigners and natives; fuller co-operation of governmental and private agencies; minimizing of hardships, especially of the debarred; and the standardization of methods, records and statistics which will reveal the whole problem in a new light. In this way lies the hope of any adequate solution of the great human problems that lie behind masses of statistics!

In normal times over 5,250,000 people are involved in migratory movements every year. Nearly half of these cross the oceans. About half leave their native land for the first time, and this means over 60,000,000 in a short generation. In the face of facts like these, is it not time that we ceased trifling with a great problem involving the present and future welfare of all nations and many millions of people? If nations were to consider this problem purely from a selfish standpoint, they would be convinced that it pays to spend all necessary time and money in its solution. Honesty and generous treatment will pay Governments, industries and transportation companies. Our own country should do far more than has yet been done in these matters. No pains or money should be spared in improving our ports of entry, our systems of reception and distribution, our methods of employment and our working, living and leisure conditions. Many people in every one of the twenty-three countries which I visited have a mortal dread of Ellis Island. Yet their fears are largely unjustified. Our officials are doing wonders with limited accommodations, equipment and personnel. But is there any good reason why the richest nation in the world should not make its great gateways really adequate in every respect? Our Immigration Commissioners have repeatedly pleaded for just this thing, with but meagre response from Congress. There have been recent improvements at Ellis Island, a Director of Social Work is to be appointed, and many voluntary organizations are rendering great service. But we should not be satisfied until we can point to Ellis Island as the ideal immigrant station of the world. At Washington our Departments of Labor, State and Justice are all working at divided aspects of the immigration problem, but we

have not yet achieved a permanent Immigration Board.

The clashes of selfish interest must also be reconciled. European employers and American employes agree on restriction, while European workers and American employers agree on unhampered migration. Why can they not all be united in policies and plans which will be to the best interests of all concerned?

As for our treatment of the immigrant after arrival, we have small cause for boasting. He is utterly confused and tragically anxious during his inspection; he is beset by grafting porters, cabmen, hotel runners and crooks on landing; exploited by his own countrymen; hoodwinked and cheated by employment agents; taken advantage of by bosses and managers, landlords and storekeepers, bankers and speculators, politicians and officials. He at once becomes a part of one of thirty-six racial groups in America; speaks one of forty-two different languages—but not English—reads one of 1,300 foreign-language periodicals, and joins one of 43,000 foreign societies!

Because of these facts, and in the ignorance of war and post-war hysteria regarding the foreigner, we have witnessed a rapid rise of all kinds of "Americanization" agencies, good, bad and indifferent. Some of these organizations, with altruistic and patriotic motives, have achieved very remarkable and important results, and would attain to still higher levels of service if they would remove their label. "Americanization"—a word which smacks of selfish compulsion and is hated by every other nation. We need a new national psychology in this regard, and we must learn to make our American citizenship desirably attractive, rather than ignominiously compulsory. We need not so much a new "hundred per cent. Americanism" campaign as a new neighborliness and a frank acknowledgment of the gifts of our new immigrants and their great heritage. If we are to have any more forced Americanization, let it be the Americanization of the American, for we who were born in the United States come very near to being the most provincial people on earth. The Americanization of the American should include his education as to

the countries and customs of our newcomers, his appreciation of their good as well as their bad qualities, his acknowledgment of their potential contributions to our national life, and interest in their welfare.

Approximately one-seventh of our population is foreign born, and one-third is of mixed or foreign parentage. About half the foreign born have already become citizens. Whether they remain loyal citizens and whether the rest become loyal citizens depends largely on how we treat them. As I went through their homelands and country villages and compared them with the slums of Chicago, Pittsburgh and New York, I realized as never before that, instead of lowering our standards, we sometimes lower theirs. The majority of our present immigrants are peasants who had never seen a slum until they reached our United States. Why not be fair enough to admit it? We can never "Americanize" either aliens or Americans until we discard our unwarranted prejudices and face the real facts.

Unquestionably, many aliens are endeavoring to plant themselves in America, whether we wish it or not. There are numerous evasions of our present as well as our past immigration laws. People slip in as stowaways and merchant seamen. Over 2,000 came that way during 1921. Thousands go to Canada, Cuba or Mexico and await their opportunity to sneak across the frontiers. Powerful individuals and agencies assist such illegal moonshining in immigrants, in spite of the watchful eye

of our efficient authorities. Chinese sailors must furnish bonds, but more than \$56,000 worth of bonds has been forfeited this past year by escaping Chinese. Clearly, our immigration inspectors must be multiplied and Congress must be willing to spend large sums of money.

The rush of emigrants for the new fiscal year has already begun. From July 1 to Oct. 1 a total of 105,080 came. There are long lines of anxious ones inside and stretching for blocks outside some of our consulates in Europe. Some countries are rapidly exhausting their quotas. The waiting lines are not so long as before the war, but the individuals are more needy and anxious, for they are fighting time. When they reach port their national quota may be full and they must wait a month, with scant funds. Emigrant stations, cheap lodging houses and hotels overflow for a few months, and exploiters of every description reap their rich harvest.

No one in the world is more universally exploited than that international person—the emigrant. Yet it is his right to be accorded a personal, national and international square deal. He is naturally a problem—for his mother country, his adopted country, his employer, his racial society, his labor union, his relatives, and even for his own children. In the last analysis, he presents a great force for good or evil. Thousands of one-time steerage folk are leaders of power and prominence in their own and other lands. The future of the world is more largely than we realize in the hands of its third-class passengers.



THE YOUNG WOMEN REBELS OF KOREA

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A feminist movement which has to contend also with foreign rule—Revolt against the degrading position of women in family life—Enthusiasm for education and Western ideas—Effect of Japanese censorship on women's magazines

THE Koreans are a people with history tablets that tell of notable achievements in the fine arts that give grace and comfort in life. But stagnation succeeded accomplishment, and for centuries apathy drugged these gentle people and permitted political deterioration and disintegration until the country became a kingdom in name only, with the spirit of nationality lifeless and dissociation rather than association prevailing. In this condition Korea was easily annexed by the vigorous Japanese Empire.

For nearly twenty years the old Hermit Kingdom has felt the hand of this new ruler. The heavy pressure finally stirred into action the long somnolent Koreans. Of the forces that are quickening into life a definite national consciousness that is compelling the lessening of the pressure of this ruling hand, Korea's "new" young women are not the least powerful. They are aflame with courage, resolute in devotion, in martyrdom. The spirit of the Maid of Orleans in medieval France, in victory and on funeral pyre, was not finer than is the spirit of the Maids of Korea in this twentieth century. With a red band on their sleeve as their emblem, in the first outbreak against authority some four years ago, they marched and shouted "Mansei!" (Long Live Korea!). They wrote and distributed circulars, each page an electric battery—"dangerous thoughts" authority called them. They organized and attended meetings and spoke stirring words that aroused their countrymen from their long lethargy. All this they did, and more, knowing that arrest and imprisonment might follow. When it did, they bore with fortitude brutal

abuse from their captors; endured humiliation that seared their woman-souls. They suffered weeks and months of solitary confinement under conditions of not even reasonable comfort, and came forth weak in body, broken, but with "soul unconquerable," "Mansei!" still ringing triumphant in their hearts.

As these "new" young women of Korea neither faltered nor cringed in what was their "baptism of fire," neither have they weakened in courage nor cooled in ardor for a New Korea in the years that have followed. With experience have come broader vision and clarified aims. The value of organization is better appreciated. The Great Korean Woman's Association is active, efficient. The ancient capital, Pyongyang, with the new patches on its old ruins only accenting its antiquity, though outwardly sleepy and placid, radiates much intense life, the movement of which is not always apparent. And there are other centres where activity prevails.

A REVOLT AGAINST IRON SUBJECTION

"The Korean women are just beginning to grow." Thus spoke a Korean, who in appearance was like a patriarch of old, as are so many of his countrymen. Applied to a minority, his words are true. The women of Korea for many generations have lived stunted, airless lives. Immured in their apartments, located always at the rear of the men's rooms, they were out of contact with all humanity beyond the family. Life's currents swept by and around them, but they were not permitted to wet their feet or dip their hands in the water, were it muddied or clear. Such an existence could not but dull the edge of

thought, blunt the point of interest, devitalize. The basic teaching of a girl was instruction as to her proper duty to her parents, her behavior as a wife, and proper respect to elders. Submission to her husband was particularly emphasized. As the age for marriage was set very early—the Japanese have fixed it at fifteen and claim that this is older than under Korean law—independence of character or individuality were not outstanding features in Korean womanhood.

This past condition of women is still the present condition except for those who are "beginning to grow." To value properly the "new" young woman it is imperative to bear in mind her early home training and the conditions which even now surround her. It is the contrast with the mass of their countrywomen that accentuates the force and vitality of the Maids of

Korea. They stand as strong young trees pushing upward into light and air in the midst of almost sapless decaying trunks.

It is not alone in resisting the pressure of the mailed hand of government that the "new" young woman of Korea is asserting herself. She is pounding, and with no puny fist, at the bars of custom that imprison Korean women. One object of her attack is the custom of each son taking his wife to his father's house, as this is the cause of inconceivable unhappiness. Under this practice there can be no home, only a consanguineous community under one roof or a close aggregation of roofs. Another custom against which the "new" woman is pitting her standards is the parent-arranged marriage. She is also making a more positive stand against the custom of concubinage than is expressed by the time-honored usage of giving a goose as a wedding present, because this fowl is a monogamist in practice.

THE FRUIT OF WESTERN TEACHING

The awakening of the young women of Korea from the torpor of generations is largely due to the mission schools, dating in some measure to the early French Catholic missions where the reverence in which the mother of Christ is held gave a glimmer of a new conception of woman's place. The idea of the home and woman's position in it as known in the West is one of the radical, and, as regards woman, one of the vital ideas which Christian missionaries bring to the East. It is acknowledged by the Oriental that both mothers-in-law and husbands find the Christian wife a little less tractable, a little less self-eliminating than one of orthodox training. In Korea the current opinion of parents is: Marry daughters to Christian men, as the Christian husband is more considerate of his wife than are the men of



A Korean high school graduate

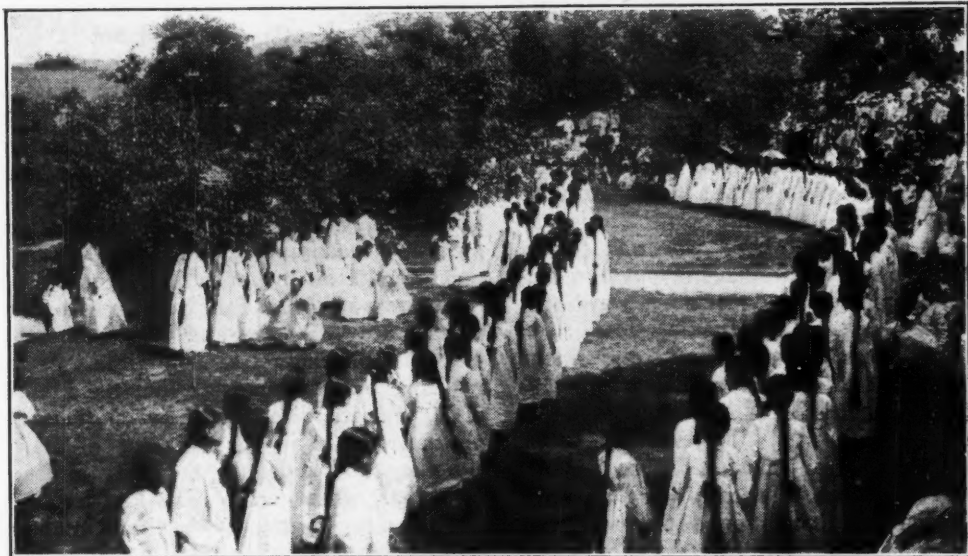
other religious beliefs; but do not marry sons to Christians, for a Christian woman is less submissive to her husband and demands more of him than the wife of the old pattern. Moreover, she is not always meek in her attitude toward her mother-in-law.

The first real start in even rudimentary Western education for Korean girls is relatively recent. In 1885, Ewha Haktung, the oldest girls' school in Korea, opened with a few girls gathered together by the promise of gifts of pretty clothes. On a recent May day, at the annual festival on Founders' Day in this school, a procession of over 400 girls—ranging down from college students to kindergarten tots, each girl wearing the white grass-linen native dress—wound its way across the lawn. In this procession were girls not long out of prison, where they had been immured because they had dared to cheer for their native land. There were girls marked for surveillance who knew not when they wakened in the morning whether they might not sleep behind prison doors that night; but, clear-eyed, smooth-browed, they neither cringed nor trembled. There were women with husbands in exile who were making up for schoolless girlhoods that they might be companions to their lifemates when they returned. In addition to

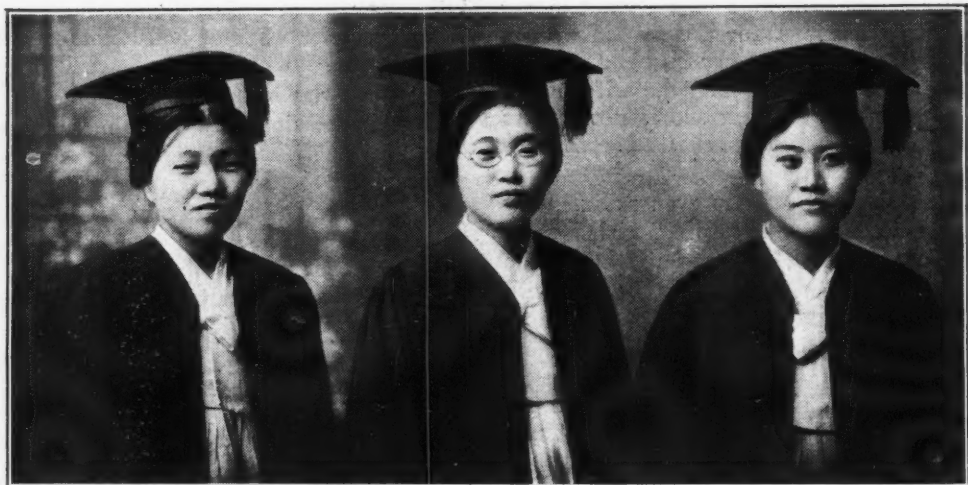
knowledge gained from books they were learning better ways of housekeeping and home-making, with the hope that they would some day have a "new" home.

On this occasion the welcoming address, given in English, Japanese and Korean, showed that the Korean woman, in common with her Oriental sisters, has dignity as a public speaker. The admirably presented pageant drama of "Queen Esther" revealed also dramatic ability. Bible stories are at home in the East, and the Oriental portrays them with natural interpretation. To the presentation of this story of old Babylon on this day dramatic flavor was added by an undercurrent of feeling, a hidden flame, that told that the Queen was not a Jewish girl pleading for her people, but a Korean girl pleading for her own race, her own land. The slightly quickened breath, the tense faces of the audience, told that they, too, felt this, though all did not understand the English words.

In the play, Esther walked by the side of the King. This act was virogoously criticised by a Korean Ewha Haktung teacher, a man whose windows are not open toward the Jerusalem of the "new" girls. He did not object on the basis of royal precedence; his objection was that a woman should not walk by the side of



Procession of Korean girls at Founder's Day Festival, Ewha Haktung



Korean college girls, who are playing an important part in the new life of their native land

a man but at a proper distance in the rear. No self-respecting Korean gentleman would permit this apparent equality any more than he would refer to his wife as a person or by name. He designates her as a "thing"—"that thing" if she is present. To change this attitude of Korean men is part of the program planned by the Maids of Korea.

Considering how recently the Korean modern girl has launched her *Mayflower* and also the restrictions by governmental authority on the press, the place woman's magazines have attained is surprising. A type of these magazines is *Sin Nyu Ga* (The New Woman), edited by Won Ju Kim, the wife of Root Y. Lee, a Korean professor in a Christian college in Seoul. Only in 1920 were the clamps of authority loosened enough to permit the magazine to be published, and the censorship was strict. The proof copy was sent to the police censor. Before being put in circulation copies of the magazine were sent to three different officials. Mrs. Lee, being a Korean woman, could not appear as editor, and instead an American woman's name appeared as sponsor of the periodical.

One of the far-reaching results for the Maids of Korea of the uprising in 1919 in which they first found themselves is their sharpened desire for education. They are evincing an unusual realization of

the need of training and knowledge to fit them for their task of breaking the old restraining customs of the home, as well as to fit them for the part they are taking in creating the new, undefinable, spiritual Korea. Never have the mission schools been so taxed for accommodation, while the excellent Government schools which have been established by the Japanese are filled to crowding. And this in spite of the heavy yoke of having to use as the school language not their own tongue, but Japanese. The girls would like to study the history of other peoples, but this is not permitted except in limited measure. Only Japanese history is really taught. Of their own past Korean girls learn not in school. But with sane philosophy the Maids of Korea do not go on hunger strikes, but partake avidly of what is offered. In various ways they manage to pick up "many dainties bred in books" that are not on the prescribed menu.

The occupations followed by Korean women are very few, and their economic value in production is negligible. It is not in economic progress that the Maids of Korea are directing their energies at present. It is in development of individuality and personal assertion and in acting as vestal virgins in keeping the fires burning on the soul's altars in their country, in keeping ardent the devotion to the cause of New Korea.



One of the victims of the ravages of the dreaded hookworm

CONQUERING THE HOOKWORM IN BRAZIL

By ROY NASH

Story of a campaign that has brought health to a republic which was "one vast hospital" in 1916—How the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation established its first post

A MUD house with a dirt floor; behind a patch of mandioca and three nana plants; squatting in the doorway, something in the image of a man. He wears two dirty cotton garments, his feet are bare, his hair unkempt. His skin has that sallow pallor it should wear only after death. His aversion to work is proverbial. It is the figure of agricultural labor in Brazil, and he is fifteen million strong.

The *Coronel* (Colonel) rides by on his pacing stallion. His coffee needs picking, and he is short of hands. He casts one glance at the sorry figure, mutters something about "a lazy beggar" and digs in his spurs.

The bay mule of a *medico* (doctor) ambles up the road and stops, while the doctor runs the eye of science over the listless "leaner," as the Brazilian calls those whose principal occupation is the contemplation of nature. "Nothing hopeless about that chap," says the doctor. "He has a lot of energy, but he is diverting it into internal channels. One can't support three or four hundred hookworms and have much energy left for nobler pursuits, like picking coffee."

Many an able Brazilian doctor sounded the warning about hookworm and pointed the way out. As far back as 1889 Dr. Adolpho Lutz, then Director of the Bacteriological Institute of Sao Paulo, made

that remark in vigorous language; but the young republic had too many other troubles to worry about in those days. In 1912 Dr. A. Ozorio de Almeida maintained a county hookworm dispensary in the State of Rio de Janeiro for a few months, and there have been many others, but they received little encouragement from the Government. Three doctors from the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation made a survey in 1916, however, and this time the warning reached the ears of a responsible statesman.

Dr. Nilo Peanha, an ex-President of Brazil, was then President of the State of Rio de Janeiro. He invited the International Health Board to install a demonstration post in his State, and in September, 1916, Dr. Lewis Wendell Hackett arrived—his arrival almost coincident with the now famous speech of Dr. Miguel Pereira, in which he declared, "Brazil is one vast hospital!"

AREA OF HOOKWORM INFECTION

Surveying rapidly an extent of fields and forests somewhat larger than the United States, Dr. Hackett found that fully 95 per cent. of a population of 30,000,000 live on the soil: from Bahia north, he found a full 100 per cent. of that rural population infected with hookworm; this zone of complete infection extending south through the low-lying littoral of Espirito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Parana, and Santa Catharina. The ratio dropped to 85 per cent. of the rural population in the lagoon region of Rio Grande do Sul, well outside the tropics; faded out entirely in the highlands of the extreme South, and generally diminished both in area and in intensity as one left the tropics on the southern plateau. In the great coffee State of Sao Paulo he found that about 30 per cent. of the population in the towns was infected, and that each case harbored about 35 worms; whereas the farm laborers average from 300 to 350 of the tiny parasites; and

the International Health Board *never yet examined an agricultural laborer in Sao Paulo who was free from hookworms.*

The board's researches justify the concept of hookworm as an occupational disease as closely related to contact with the soil as mercurial poisoning is to hatting or "the bends" to caisson work under abnormal air pressure.

Inasmuch as Brazil is preponderantly agricultural, her rural population barefooted, and her soil polluted by insaniitary habits, the essential problem of making her farm labor moderately productive centres in the war on these intestinal parasites. The Rockefeller Commission set to work, and by May, 1917, its first post in the State of Rio de Janeiro was in operation.

A hookworm post of the *Commissao Rockefeller* in Brazil is more thrilling than division headquarters on the eve of battle. A modest Brazilian doctor rides in on a mud-splashed mule, and persuades the Mayor to donate an empty house, light, water, and a pasture—things of little value in the interior. His forces follow; a surveyor, a microscopist, a chief nurse with his ten "guards," a cook, and a muleteer. Their luggage consists of army cots and bedding, a couple of compound microscopes, medicines and mules, a lantern and



Typical rural post of the Rockefeller Foundation in Brazil



Dr. Lewis Wendell Hackett, Regional Director for Brazil of the International Health Board

some slides. At daybreak they are in the saddle and away. The surveyor begins a map of the *município*; the guards begin an accurate census of the population. Upon these enthusiastic Brazilian schoolboys devolves the difficult task of convincing an illiterate *cabaclo* (local Mayor) that the commission is out to lift from his shoulders an incubus he doesn't know he staggers under. That any one should be trying to do an unpleasant job for him without charging him for it is in itself a cause for deep suspicion.

WORK OF ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

The Brazilian doctor in charge of such a post is something more than a commander of forces and an organizer of campaigns; he is a modern evangelist spreading the new doctrine of salvation this side of death, as the hooded emissaries of Rome in the brave days of conquest and empire carried their message of salvation beyond the grave. Three times a month he gives a lecture in the public schools, and the teachers come to the post to receive addi-

tional instruction in public hygiene. With the lantern and slides he goes wherever two or three hundred people can be gathered together to listen to the revolutionary gospel of latrine construction and the curative qualities of chenopodium; and there is a hookworm movie which serves to link Brazil's local problem with the battle which the Rockefeller Foundation is waging in our own rural South, in the West Indies, in Central America, in Colombia, in China, Australia and Papua, Siam, Ceylon, India, Mauritius, and the Seychelles Islands. Among a populace as illiterate as that of rural Brazil, the doctor's word and the screen is the only way to reach the masses. Besides this spreading of the faith, if there be no local doctor in the place, the post physician spends his leisure in lopping off legs, dressing wounds, treating the hundred and one maladies with which Brazil is blessed—always without any other reward than the gratitude and confidence of the lowly.

The post at Rio Bonito, first established by Dr. Hackett, did not do this sort of intensive work long without attracting the attention of Brazilian authorities. Within a few months of its establishment, the Federal Government offered to finance a post in the Federal District, and from Pernambuco in the North to Rio Grande in the South, requests for assistance and leadership poured in upon the Foundation faster than it could expand its personnel. Starting with one American doctor in the Fall of 1916, the forces of the board in Brazil now number 7 American physicians, 32 Brazilian doctors, and 350 subordinate Brazilian assistants. A hundred and twenty-seven gallons of chenopodium and thirty tons of epsom salts are expended in 500,000 treatments a year; and the annual budget of the Foundation in Brazil amounts to \$250,000 gold.

If these requests by the Brazilian States had been merely for gratuitous aid, they would not have been particularly significant; but in no case after the first year's demonstration work, which the Foundation paid for in full, did the States contribute less than half the annual budget, and soon most of them were bearing two-thirds of the financial load. The Federal Government became increasingly interested until, in 1919, it offered to contribute a sum



Map of Brazil showing the sources of funds for public health work in the various States

equal to that contributed by any State and the Foundation combined.

In 1920 a complete reorganization of the Federal Public Health Service was accomplished under the able direction of Dr. Carlos Chagas. Rural sanitation now took its place as the chief division of the new department, and to it was assigned the income from all taxes on alcohol, alcoholic beverages, pharmaceutical products and licensed gambling. The significance of that move can be appreciated only if it is realized that when the International Health Board came to Brazil in the Fall of 1916, not one cent was being spent on rural sanitation in all Brazil. In the year 1921 the Federal and State Governments appropriated the sum of \$2,300,000. Rural health work is now going on in every State of the republic, except Piahy, Goyaz and Ser-

gipe. In some States the Rockefeller Foundation has already withdrawn, and turned the work over to State authorities.

This has always been the aim of the work. "From the beginning of its hookworm campaigns the International Health Board has thought of the control of this disease chiefly as a means of demonstrating to a given community in a concrete way the meaning of public health and the possibilities of preventive medicine." To get Governments to assume responsibility was the problem.

Within five years Brazil has responded so splendidly that nothing remains but gradually to withdraw in such manner that results will be conserved and the work extended.

The activities of the International Health Board in Brazil have never been wholly

restricted to hookworm campaigns. At the posts in Rio de Janeiro and Santa Catharina, malaria was attacked as well as intestinal parasites. When the terrible epidemic of Spanish influenza struck Brazil in 1918, all hookworm work was stopped and the posts turned to relief work. In connection with the Medical Faculty of Sao Paulo, a Laboratory of Hygiene, set up by the board, has been doing educational and research work of the highest order. The first two graduates of the School of Hygiene and Public Health at Johns Hopkins University were two Brazilian doctors picked for their special abilities and sent to study at the expense of the International Health Board; and ten other Brazilian physicians have been sent to the United States to study their specialties, on the understanding that they will return to Brazil and either enter the Public Health Service or teach in a medical school.

County health work has been launched in the State of Sao Paulo. The idea of this work is to build up a permanent sentiment which will lead every community to face its own local health problems, to support its own health work financially, and to maintain an effective public health organization rooted to the soil. The first problem of such a unit is popular education. Medical inspection of school children; latrine construction; treatment of hookworm, malaria, and other endemic diseases on a *dispensary* basis; vaccination, venereal clinics, vital statistics and

the control of infectious diseases are other phases of the field to be attacked.

Besides county health work, the International Health Board is going into two other fields as fast as funds are withdrawn from the hookworm work being taken over by governmental agencies. One is the visiting nurse and hospital nursing; the other is experimental malarial control. The Federal Government has established in Rio de Janeiro a training school for nurses and a demonstration of nursing methods in which the Rockefeller Foundation will cooperate. The importance of this in a country where nursing has been largely in the hands of lay sisters of the religious orders without technical training can hardly be overestimated. Obviously, in a tropical country as heavily watered as is much of Brazil, control of malaria is of prime importance. Dr. Hackett hopes to demonstrate that it is entirely feasible by comparatively inexpensive drainage and free quinine to eliminate malaria for an area of a kilometer about the settlements. That done, agricultural laborers will more and more tend to concentrate their homes in such immunized areas, going out to the fields to work during the day when the pestiferous mosquito is taking his siesta.

To have gotten under way an effective attack upon such fundamental problems as these within a period of five years constitutes nothing less than a revolution in the lives of multitudes. For the first time in 400 years the illiterate, bare-footed toiler on the *fazendas* of Brazil sees the fragment of a rainbow in his sky.



FLOGGING AS CRIME DETERRENT IN CANADA

By CHARLES FREDERICK CARTER

Percentage of crime in Dominion proportionately less than in the United States—Strict enforcement of law, swiftness of indictment, and severe penalties, including whipping, the explanation—Canadian view of the lash as a crime deterrent

CANADIANS and Americans have a common ancestry, a common language, a common literature, common customs, common ideals. Their countries are separated only by an invisible line crossed by numerous railroad and steamship lines and highways, which render all parts of the Dominion as readily accessible to enterprising American crooks as any parts of the United States. Yet, in proportion to population, Canada has but a small fraction of the crimes of violence which disgrace the United States.

Why?

Seeking an answer to this interesting question, I made a seven weeks' journey from Montreal to Vancouver, stopping at numerous points between to talk with chiefs of police, chiefs of detectives, the Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, judges, magistrates, members of Parliament, corporation officials, lawyers and other citizens. As usually happens in any conscientious investigation, some fallacies have been exploded.

In extenuation of America's unenviable leadership in crime, for instance, it is stated that Canada's population is "homogeneous"; that the Dominion is not so overrun with alien criminals as the United States is alleged to be. Reference to census reports will show that our prison population is made up of approximately five native Americans, white and colored, to one foreign-born criminal. From the same source it may be learned that during the century ending with 1922 the gross number of immigrants arriving in America, disregarding the considerable proportion who returned to their native lands, was

equivalent to about one-third of our present population.

On the other hand, figures made public by the Dominion statistician show that in the twenty-four years ending with 1922 the gross number of immigrants arriving in Canada was equivalent to 42.9 per cent. of the present population; it would thus appear that Canada's population is composed of a five-fold greater proportion of immigrants than that of the United States. Moreover, 38 per cent. of Canada's immigrants came from the United Kingdom, as compared with 17 per cent. from that source arriving in the United States in the last nine years. Of the remainder of Canada's immigrants, 37 per cent. came from the United States and 25 per cent. from other countries, a demonstration that the relative proportion and character of immigrants into the respective countries fail to account for the marked disparity in crime.

THE LAW IS ENFORCED

Stated in its simplest terms, the reason why Canada is relatively free from crimes of violence is that the law is enforced. As an illustration, take the crime of murder. In Montreal, the largest city in the Dominion, with 800,000 population, there were eight murders, or one murder per 100,000 population, in 1921. In startling contrast, the murder rate in Memphis the same year was 56.8 per 100,000. In Baltimore, a city of nearly the same size as Montreal, the murder rate was 11.3 that year, and in Cleveland, also about the same size as Montreal, it was 10.3 per 100,000; in St. Louis, nearly the size of

Montreal, the rate was 17.2. The murder rate for the whole United States has been steadily rising from an average of 8.1 for the five-year period ended with 1915 to 9.3 for 1921. In the whole Dominion, with nearly 9,000,000 population, there were only 57 murders in 1920 and 77 in 1921. At the average rate for the United States there would have been 816 murders in the Dominion in 1921, or 10.6 times as many as there actually were.

The obvious reason for this disparity is that here there is one execution for each ninety murders; in Canada statistics covering a period of thirty years show that one out of every five murders committed in all that time was expiated on the gallows; in addition, one in seven murderers was sent to the penitentiary for life. In Canada it is not customary to pardon prisoners sent up for life after they have served a short time. The fifty-seven murders committed in 1920 resulted in twenty-six convictions before the end of the year.

In all that pertains to the administration of justice Canada presents startling differences from the United States. Take this scene from the Court of King's Bench in Montreal for example:

Mr. Justice Monet, addressing the jury in the case of a young woman charged with manslaughter for having administered a fatal dose of heroin to a young man, said: "While you are absolute masters of the case, I think I should tell you that in my humble opinion there is no doubt at all that the prisoner is guilty." Heeding this pointed admonition, the jury returned a verdict of guilty in seventeen minutes. Forthwith the prisoner was sentenced to five years in the penitentiary. In pronouncing sentence Justice Monet said: "I am charged with the duty of protecting the interests of society. * * * The Judge has no interest in protecting those who contaminate the rest of the people."

Five minutes previously he had sentenced the drug peddler who had supplied the heroin used by the young woman to twenty years in the penitentiary, announcing as he did so that the next drug peddler convicted before him would receive a life sentence. Within ninety days after the

crime had been committed the guilty ones were on their way to the penitentiary, with no prospect of suspended sentence, parole, appeal or other mode of evading the penalty imposed; but with the certainty that they would serve their sentences to the full in institutions conducted with the sole view of "protecting the interests of society," as Mr. Justice Monet expressed it.

This incident may be taken as fairly typical of the Canadian methods of dealing with criminals.

THE CONTRAST WITH AMERICA

Contrast this with the following glimpse of characteristic American methods of administering justice. Just before going to Canada I sat in one of the parts of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace in New York City while the Judge called up for sentence five persons convicted of various crimes, not convicted the moment before, as was the case in Montreal, but at various times previously. Three of the sentences were suspended when announced. Next came the finish of the trial of a young man charged with having defrauded an insurance company through the pretended theft of an automobile. The case had been dragging along for days as compared with the few hours required to try and convict the Canadian pair of a far graver crime.

In addressing the jury the Assistant District Attorney used the phrase "convinced beyond a reasonable doubt" eighteen times. "Convinced beyond a reasonable doubt" is a philological absurdity; for one convinced has no doubts, "reasonable" or otherwise; per contra, one who doubts is not convinced. But as a legal incantation the phrase is potent in protecting scoundrels from consequences of their misdeeds. According to Senator Borah, who conducted the prosecution, "convinced beyond a reasonable doubt," reiterated so frequently as to become a refrain by the Judge in his charge to the jury, was responsible for the acquittal of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone of the assassination of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho some years ago. Counsel for the defendant repeated this serviceable incantation nineteen times; the Judge in his charge to the jury thirteen times; in other words, the phrase

was dinned into the ears of the jury a total of fifty times in the course of an hour. Is it any wonder that, after deliberating three hours, the jury announced that it was unable to agree and was discharged?

Canadian Judges, from highest to lowest, are appointed by the Dominion Government for life or during good behavior. They can be removed only after impeachment by Parliament. They are, therefore, not beholden to any political boss or party. When superannuated they are retired on a pension. They are therefore free to devote their whole time and attention to their duty. They are jealous of the dignity of their position and zealous in maintaining it, and are respected accordingly.

"Chief Constables," as Canadians call their chiefs of police, are also appointed for life or during good behavior. The City of Winnipeg, for example, has had only four Chief Constables, including the present incumbent, since it was organized as a municipality. All other members of the police and detective forces hold their jobs on the same terms. A change of administration in a Canadian city means nothing whatever to the police force. The Alderman's pull is unheard of. Police graft is also almost wholly unknown. Being free from extraneous influences, the Canadian policeman has nothing whatever to attend to but his duty. It is not surprising, therefore, that the records of Canadian police show a very much higher ratio of arrests to crimes and far greater success in securing the evidence to convict than in the United States.

THE SPEEDING OF TRIALS

In fact, the whole machinery of justice is far simpler than in the United States, and works with vastly greater celerity. A criminal calendar more than two years behind, as was the case in New York City recently, would be unthinkable in Canada.

Indictable offenses are dealt with in three different ways: before Provincial Supreme Courts with a jury; before a Judge without the intervention of a jury under the Speedy Trials act, by which the accused is given the option of being tried forthwith by the Judge or of having his case put over to the next term of court and tried by a jury; and, third, before a

police or other magistrate by virtue of the Summary Trials act. A magistrate may try summarily any charge less than murder under this act and his decision is nearly always final, for in the Dominion endless appeals and reversals are unknown.

More than three-fourths of the 23,213 indictable offenses in the Dominion were dealt with under the Summary Trials act in 1920, while 18.4 per cent. were under the Speedy Trials act, leaving only 6.3 per cent. to be tried by jury.

This explains the remarkable celerity of Canadian justice. As an illustration, one year ago a bank was robbed in a small town just outside Winnipeg. Although this case was not in his jurisdiction, Chief Constable Newton sent out some of his men. Within ten hours after the crime five men had been arrested. Forty-eight hours after the crime had been committed, the five were in the penitentiary beginning sentences of ten years each.

An automobile was stolen in Edmonton one Saturday night in September, 1922. Next day two men were arrested for the theft in a small town many miles away. Monday morning they were arraigned, convicted and sentenced. Less than forty-eight hours after the theft they were in the Provincial penitentiary beginning sentences of three years each.

Sittings of the High Court at Ottawa rarely last more than a week. Usually twenty minutes is time enough to select a jury for a murder trial on the rare occasions when such cases are on the calendar. The trial itself is usually over in half a day, or a day at most; though there is a tradition that a murder trial once lasted two whole days.

Special jury panels are unknown; hence there are no interminable delays while panels of 100 men each are summoned to court to be told, after waiting half a day or more, to come back another time to repeat the process, *ad libitum*. Nor can windy lawyers waste days or even weeks examining talesmen one at a time. They simply don't do things that way in Canada. The defense is allowed twenty peremptory challenges; the Crown can order any talesman to stand aside, or it can challenge four for cause. When the panel is

exhausted, instead of adjourning court while another panel is summoned, as in the United States, those who stood aside are recalled, and the jury box must be filled from them.

THE CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS

Canada's criminal code provides, in addition to the penalty of imprisonment, whipping may be administered for certain crimes, including highway robbery, robbery with violence, burglary, crimes against women, and gross indecency. The cat-o'-nine-tails is specified as the instrument to be used unless the Judge, in passing sentence, shall prescribe something else. No limit is fixed to the number of lashes that may be administered. That is left to the trial Judge to determine. To make the whipping effective, it is customary to divide it into two or more instalments, the first to be administered upon admission to prison, in order that the culprit may understand what a whipping is like, and the last—for in some instances there are more than two—at least ten days before discharge. This makes the culprit feel his punishment throughout his imprisonment, thus achieving the maximum psychological effect of penalty intended.

It is argued in American penological circles that the use of the lash in Canada is discredited, that it is rarely applied, and that there is a strong movement against its continued use in the Dominion. In the course of the painstaking inquiry described, in which a considerable number of representative men were questioned, not one expressed disapproval of the lash. Among higher police officials of Toronto, as well as among others elsewhere, there is a pronounced sentiment in its favor as a punishment for certain crimes.

As for the frequency with which the lash is applied, figures published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the year ended Sept. 30, 1920, showed that thirty-four offenders were lashed for ten kinds of offenses. Eight of the ten Provinces in the Dominion were represented, the exceptions being the Yukon, which is very sparsely settled, and Prince Edward Island, where there were but 20 crimes of all kinds per 100,000 inhabitants in 1920,

as compared with 294 in Ontario, the most densely populated Province of Canada.

Regarding the efficacy of the lash in preventing crime, the official records present the following data:

For the crime of highway robbery the penalty may be any number of years or life imprisonment, plus any number of lashes that the trial Judge may see fit to impose. Throughout the whole Dominion in 1920 there were 663 cases of highway robbery reported to the police. No crime statistics have ever been compiled for the United States as a whole; but figures from police reports in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis and Toledo give some indication of the prevalence of certain crimes. The total for these five cities, with a total population of 9,193,714, is 2,661 highway robberies, or 29 per 100,000 population. At this rate Canada would have had four times as many such crimes as actually were committed on her territory. The number of cases of highway robbery dealt with by the Canadian courts during the year was 332—exactly half as many trials as there were robberies. Of these, 237 were convicted. As one man or gang is frequently responsible for several crimes, it seems safe to assume that a very large proportion of the 1920 crop of Canadian highwaymen is in prison. It is not surprising that with fewer than two chances in three of escaping conviction, and the certainty of severe punishment to follow conviction, highway robbery in Canada is rare.

CONVICTIONS FOR BURGLARY

Of burglaries 5,655 cases were reported to the Dominion police in 1920. In the absence of statistics for the United States the burglary rate of 124 per 100,000 inhabitants per annum in six representative cities may be assumed to be a fair average for the country. This is double the burglary rate for Canada. The value of all property stolen in Canada during the year was \$7,087,798, or 81 cents per capita. The average for Baltimore, Boston and Washington the same year was \$2.07 per capita, or two and a half times the rate in Canada. As for New York, no one is permitted to know how many burglaries are

reported to the police. All that is known is that there were 6,035 arrests on the charge of burglary in 1920, resulting in 2,755 convictions. That is, 45 per cent. of those arraigned were convicted. Of the 2,755 convicted 987 received suspended sentences; that is, they were not punished in any way; 94 were paroled or bonded, that is, they also escaped punishment, while 67 were fined, thus reducing the net proceeds of their stealings. Presumably the remaining 41 per cent. may have been submitted to the inconvenience of imprisonment until the overworked Parole Board could release them.

For the 5,655 burglaries in Canada, 2,317 persons were dealt with by the courts, with a net result of 2,073 convictions. That is, while the New York police could produce evidence to convict only 45 per cent. of those charged with burglary, the Canadian courts convicted 85 per cent. of those arraigned for burglary. To put it another way, there were 42.7 convictions for each hundred burglaries; and a conviction in a Canadian court invariably means punishment, as contrasted with the prevailing practice in New York courts, which means nothing more in the majority of cases than the inconvenience and indignity of having to appear in court and the expense of providing bonds in order to be able to continue in crime during the two or three years that frequently elapse between indictment and trial. Every one of the 2,073 persons convicted of burglary in Canada was sent to prison for varying terms, some of them long, and in addition to receiving prison terms, some of the men convicted were whipped.

THE VIRTUE OF THE LASH

The whip throughout Canada seems to be dreaded by criminals more than any other form of punishment. The typical criminal can face death with an air of bravado. A term of imprisonment means nothing more than a temporary interruption of activity. But no man ever faced the whip with an air of bravado.

Canadians state that the great virtue of the lash is its remarkable efficacy in preventing crime. As soon as the news spreads through the underworld that the

Judges in a given community are dealing out sentences to the lash there is an immediate exodus of criminals.

One notable example of the preventive potency of the lash was in Vancouver in 1914, when there was a sudden outbreak of highway robbery. There were six such crimes in quick succession. By the time the last one had been reported, the police had gathered in two of the first highwaymen. They were immediately brought into court under the Summary Trials act, convicted and sentenced forthwith to prison and the whip, one receiving thirty lashes, the other fifteen. Two others were caught and whipped a few days later. That put an end to highway robbery in Vancouver for a long time.

Joseph Peebles was convicted Oct. 18, 1903, of attacking a seven-year-old girl. He was sentenced to twenty-three months in prison and 160 lashes, to be administered in instalments of twenty lashes every three months. The case passed into a popular tradition. If there has ever been a conviction for a similar crime in Vancouver since, the police records do not mention it.

"In common with all other chiefs of police in the Dominion, and speaking from convictions formed as the result of twenty years' experience in police work," said Chief Constable James Anderson of Vancouver, "I certainly believe in the use of the lash. It has been a great help in keeping down crime; for every crook knows that he is liable to the lash upon conviction. Nothing has ever done the work so thoroughly and so quickly as the lash. I have talked with many professional criminals, and they all have said they would rather face a sentence of twenty years than twenty lashes."

Twenty-seven years' service in the Royal Northwest Mounted Police, during which time he acted as magistrate in addition to his other duties, followed by eleven years as police magistrate in Calgary, Alberta, has convinced Lieut. Col. G. E. Sanders, C. M. G., D. S. O., "beyond the shadow of a doubt," to quote his own words, that the whip is the most effective of all instrumentalities in curbing crime. In some years Magistrate Sanders has found it necessary to sentence thirty culprits to the

lash, the usual sentence being from fifteen to thirty strokes, though occasionally more.

On Aug. 26, 1912, six men were sentenced to nine months in jail and fifteen lashes each for assault and robbery of a certain type which seemed to be epidemic in Calgary. That ended the matter. Then in the Summer of 1914 there was an outbreak of wife beating in Calgary. When two men had been given six months and thirty lashes, a third man one month and fifteen lashes, and a fourth man one month and ten lashes, all within a period of a few weeks, wife beating permanently ceased, and no case has been recorded since 1914. Since J. J. Murray was given two years and thirty lashes for robbery early in 1915 the Calgary police records contain no further mention of convictions for that offense.

The severest sentence imposed in Calgary in ten years was two years and sixty lashes given an old offender for indecent assault. Although his time expired some time ago, his name appears no more on the Calgary police records.

Fifteen years ago Winnipeg in its turn had an epidemic of highway robbery. A number of such crimes had been committed before the police could round up any of the perpetrators. They were each given sentences of fifteen years in the penitentiary and seventy-five lashes. No man could endure so severe a whipping at one time, so the Judges divided the sentences into three instalments of twenty-five lashes each. That put a complete stop to highway robbery in Winnipeg for a number of years.

In the opinion of Chief Constable C. H. Newton of Winnipeg, the application of the lash has a completely deterrent effect on the particular species of crime for which it is imposed for a period of three or four years. Then the lesson has to be repeated, not for the old offenders, but for the benefit of the new generation of "crooks." In a period of twenty-two years twenty criminals have been sentenced to the lash in Winnipeg, four of them within the last year.

In April, 1922, the Provincial Savings Bank of Winnipeg was robbed. Two months later the three men who committed the robbery were picked up—one in

Edmonton, one in Calgary, the third in Vancouver. Two weeks later they were tried, found guilty and sentenced—one to five years and twenty lashes, the other two to five years and ten lashes each.

Hon. Jeremie Decarie, Chief Magistrate of Montreal, has given the lash for robbery of \$3.14, which happened to be all the victim had on his person. In the last two years Magistrate Decarie has sentenced fifteen culprits to be whipped. His experience is thus summed up: "All the police tell me that the whip is a most potent instrument for keeping crime down. The cat is a horrible instrument. It scares those fellows. They never want to return for a second dose. I should like to see a provision in the code permitting the application of the whip for any indictable offense."

The cat-o'-nine-tails is a part of the equipment of every provincial jail to which prisoners serving two years or less are sent, and of every penitentiary in the Dominion. It is a formidable-looking instrument with nine thongs of cotton cord twenty-eight inches long bound at the loose ends with light metal bands to prevent fraying, and attached to a leather headpiece (about two inches wide, so that the thongs will spread freely), which is affixed to a wooden handle.

The law provides that the lash shall be administered in jail in the presence of the jail physician, who is required to examine the culprit to make sure that he is physically able to endure the punishment, and also to make sure he does not evade it by shamming illness.

Another instrument also to be found in all Dominion penal institutions is called "the strap." It consists of a sole leather strap, twenty-six inches long by three inches wide, attached to a wooden handle. The strap has several small holes distributed along its length to prevent wind resistance from diminishing the force of the blow. An application of the strap to the naked body is not officially designated as a "whipping," but as a "spanking." The following is an excerpt from a Toronto item in Canadian papers of Aug. 26, 1922: "In consequence of the introduction of 'spanking,' the number of auto thefts has fallen off to a remarkable degree."

PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES

By JAMES CANNON JR.

Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Chairman National Legislative Committee Anti-Saloon League of America

Moral aspects of Prohibition—The law enacted in response to popular will—Injustice to our soldiers denied—What is an intoxicant?—The Supreme Court decisions—Effect of the law

"The manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof, into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited."

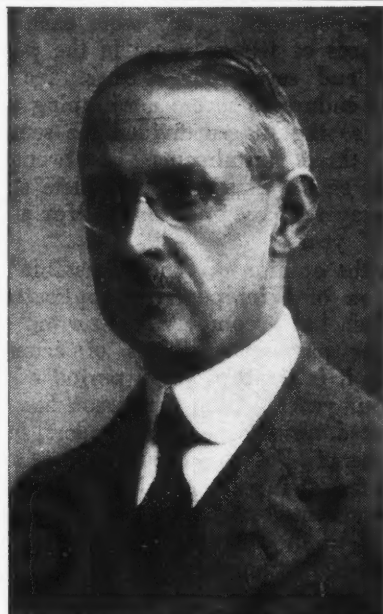
—Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

THE key word in the prohibition amendment is the word "intoxicating." That single word explains why the amendment was ratified. It explains why it will not be repealed. What is "intoxication"? It is that state in which a man has lost control of his physical, his intellectual and his moral powers; in short, in which he has lost control, to a greater or less degree, of "himself." The prohibition amendment does not prohibit the manufacture or sale of lemonade, root beer, ginger ale, sweet cider or grape juice, but it prohibits the manufacture or sale of "intoxicating" liquors for beverage purposes, which intoxicating beverages age-long experience has positively demonstrated cause countless millions of men and women, youths and girls, to lose control of themselves and to become not only less fit to be members of society and for every form of economic, intellectual, social and moral life, but a positive menace to the communities in which they live.

This action by the American people was not the result of hysteria or of uncontrollable feeling stirred by the sacrificial spirit engendered by the great war. On the contrary, it was the natural—one might almost say the necessary—result of the educative process which had been carried on in schools and churches and by the printed page for over forty years. Nor

was this act a sudden, reckless experiment. On the contrary, it was taken only after the most careful observation and protracted public discussion of the effects of prohibition in country districts, in towns, in small cities, in large cities, and in over thirty States.

Nor was this action taken at the demand of a "vociferous, bigoted minority," led by "shrewd, unscrupulous manipulators" or "relentless fanatics." It is not only false, it is absurd, to declare that the Eighteenth Amendment is a result of the desire of



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puritanical, meddlesome persons to deprive other people of pleasure, even to dictate "what they shall eat or what they shall drink." The only thing prohibited by the amendment is the manufacture or sale of "intoxicating" drink, and the prohibition therefore affects the relations of individuals and society in general.

The declaration that the amendment was ratified because the Congressmen and Senators and the Legislatures of forty-six States were cowardly puppets, coerced against their will by the "self-seeking, domineering, hypocritical" leaders of the Anti-Saloon League, absurdly ignores the fact that before Congress submitted the resolution for ratification over thirty States had already adopted statutory or constitutional prohibition; 2,835,367 square miles (95.4 per cent.) of the area and over two-thirds of the population of the United States were under prohibitory laws, while only 138,523 square miles (4.6 per cent.) and less than one-third of the population were under "wet" laws.

NO INJUSTICE DONE SOLDIERS

Nor was the prohibition amendment ratified because advantage was taken of the absence of 2,000,000 soldiers in France who if at home would have voted and worked against such ratification. It is amazing that any self-respecting speaker or writer will continue to show such ignorance, if not duplicity. The ratification of the prohibition amendment was the orderly, inevitable culmination of a movement, publicly inaugurated in 1913. The question was voted upon in the House of Representatives in 1914 and received at that time a majority of the vote of the House, but not the necessary two-thirds. That vote, taken over two years before the United States entered the war, clearly proved that a majority of the representatives of the people then in Congress believed that a majority of the voters in their respective districts at that time—1914—favored nation-wide prohibition.

The conflict continued. Nothing was done in a corner. Congressional primaries and elections in 1916 were held, before the United States entered the war, with prohibition as a distinct, clear-cut issue; every candidate for Senate and House had

been asked to declare his attitude on the subject. "All the boys" who afterward went to France were at home when that Congress was elected, and it was well understood at Washington after the election in November, 1916, that a two-thirds "dry" majority had been elected. It was that very Congress—elected with prohibition as an issue, while "all the boys" were at home, and before we entered the war—which, when we did declare war, passed the Selective Draft act, including in it the unprecedented provision of the absolute prohibition of the sale of intoxicants to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, and—wonderful to relate—this action was taken without any protest from those boys who were later on drafted for the war. And it was that same Congress which, in the Summer and Fall of 1917, when not a hundred thousand "boys" had sailed for France, passed the resolution submitting the Federal prohibition amendment to the Legislatures of the several States, by the vote of 282 to 128 in the House, and the vote of 65 to 29 in the Senate.

The amendment was presented to the several Legislatures of the forty-eight States in full accordance with the method prescribed for amending the Constitution of the United States. Each of the States voted upon it openly, with full opportunity given for debate or for protest by the people. The process of ratification began on Jan. 8, 1918. On Jan. 13, 1919, the thirty-sixth State had voted affirmatively, and finally forty-six States voted in the affirmative, giving ninety-two separate legislative bodies in favor of the amendment and only four against.

Senator-elect Edwards* is inaccurate in his declaration that "the proponents of the Eighteenth Amendment *dared* not have the people of any State vote, even to the extent of having conventions instead of Legislatures pass upon it." It might be a sufficient reply to this unproved and unprovable assertion to say that the position of the prohibition leaders was that there was no sufficient reason presented for not following the method which had been fol-

*An article by Senator-elect Edwards of New Jersey in opposition to the Volstead act was printed in January CURRENT HISTORY.

lowed in connection with the adoption of previous amendments to the Constitution.

A NATIONAL CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

The intimation of Senator-elect Edwards, however, that the people will not vote for prohibition if given a chance is not borne out by the facts. There are at least thirty-three States which would have State-wide prohibitory laws if the Eighteenth Amendment did not exist.

Colorado, Michigan, and Washington, all having adopted prohibition laws, later took a vote on the question of permitting the manufacture and sale of light wines and beers. In all three States the proposition was defeated by a much larger majority than was cast for the original prohibition law.

The recent November elections are also quite interesting. In Ohio the people voted down a beer and wine proposition by nearly 200,000 majority. In California a "wet" majority of 65,000 was reversed, and a "dry" majority of 35,000 rolled up. Certainly these officially contested elections, which were participated in by all the voters of the two States, showed a great advance in prohibition sentiment. In Illinois there was a vote on a beer and wine proposition in which the "dries" refused to participate, and the "wet" vote was less than a majority of the total vote cast in the election. But in the same State of Illinois, the Hon. Richard Yates ran for Congressman at Large on a "bone-dry" platform, and was elected by a great majority, which does not indicate a "wet" wave in Illinois. In Massachusetts, the adoption of a State-wide prohibition enforcement code was defeated, but that was not a "wet" gain, as there had been no enforcement code before the election.

It is true that the foreign-born population of New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts and some other States was stimulated by the declaration of certain politicians that they could secure either an amendment or a nullification of the Volstead act so as to obtain light wines and beer, and they voted with that expectation. This was not surprising. It has been well understood that these foreign-born elements are opposed to prohibition, and solidifica-

tion of these voters from the ranks of both parties behind "wet" candidates does not indicate any change in public sentiment.

In any discussion of "why" the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the prohibition movement in the United States has been Christian in its inspiration and has been dependent for its persistent vitality and victorious leadership upon the active and, finally, upon the practically undivided support of American Protestantism with support from some Roman Catholics. The praying bands of women in the 70s were Christian women. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is a Christian union. The Anti-Saloon League of America was founded and has been led by Christian men. The great majority of its leaders, State and national, are Christian ministers and the funds to carry on its operations are furnished almost entirely by offerings made at public meetings held in the various churches. It was the Christian pulpit and press which not only stated the awful, unescapable facts concerning the traffic in intoxicants, but which emphasized more and more strongly the responsibility of Christian men and women for the continued existence of these conditions until they had done their utmost to remove them.

Though it is true that the Church as an organization can not and should not legislate for the nation, it is equally true that the members of the Churches are citizens of the nation and are, to the extent of their influence and vote, responsible for social and moral conditions and for the laws of the country. Slowly but irresistibly the educative process was carried on until practically all of the leading Church bodies united in one great swelling protest against the traffic in intoxicants and petitioned for the passage of local option, then of State-wide and finally of nationwide prohibitory laws.

The Anti-Saloon League attorneys and superintendents are elected by State and national Boards of Directors which are composed almost entirely of leading Christian ministers and laymen. Why attack and denounce simply the Anti-Saloon League official workers? Why not attack and denounce the great body of religious

people whom these League leaders represent? The Anti-Saloon League workers are not faultless; they are human and subject to mistakes as other men, but they unquestionably have stood in the past, and they stand today in the fight that they are making for a great moral issue, as the representatives of the great bulk of Protestant Christendom in this country.

THE PLEAS FOR MODIFICATION

But, declare the opponents of the Eighteenth Amendment, "even if the law was adopted because of a favorable majority sentiment, it cannot be enforced, and therefore the law should be repealed, modified or nullified." They say that the law is to be estimated not by the results which would be obtained if it were enforced, but by the results which follow resistance to enforcement. When it is said that the law "cannot" be enforced, the advocates mean it "shall not" be enforced. The refusal of any people to obey a law, however, is no proof that the law is bad and no sufficient reason for its repeal. Laws are restrictions upon human activities. The Ten Commandments are expressions of the will of God. Who dares to denounce them? Who calls for their repeal? St. Paul meets the issue squarely when he says, "Is the law sin because men violate it? God forbid. Wherefore the law is holy, the commandment is holy, just and good."

Are the traffic laws of the City of New York good laws? A recent public report states that there were 110,000 violations of the traffic laws in that city in 1922 and 94,000 convictions. Shall the traffic laws be repealed because they are continually violated? Such violations encourage disrespect for all law, especially in youth which sneers at prudence and at the rights of pedestrians. But the need is not for repeal of the law, but an even stronger declaration that society must be protected, and therefore penalties must be increased and convictions made more certain.

The facts concerning the violation of the prohibition law are entirely similar. Those who violate the law transgress the rights of others, and the familiar tragedies connected with the use of intoxicating liquors inevitably follow. Why not follow the same line of reasoning—increase the

penalties for violation of the liquor laws and make conviction more certain?

But, say the opposers of prohibition, this prohibition enforcement law, commonly known as the Volstead act, is already a drastic and unreasonable law.

What unjust or objectionable provisions are there in this act to the citizen who does not desire or expect to violate the prohibition law, or to the citizen who believes that the Eighteenth Amendment should be enforced? If the law is to be effectively enforced, it must forbid the possession of all intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes purchased since Jan. 16, 1920; otherwise, it will be impossible to prevent the illegal traffic.

Grant the right to one man to possess intoxicants for beverage purposes, and the door is wide open for every man to keep a stock of intoxicants, ostensibly for his own personal use, but really to sell, as opportunity is afforded to do so without detection, and so the search and seizure provision of the Volstead act is a necessary provision for any effective enforcement. Why should any law-abiding citizen object to such a provision, which is not intended for the innocent, but is necessary for the detection and punishment of the criminal violator?

DEFINITION JUSTIFIED

There are those, like Senator-elect Edwards, who declare that the definition in the Volstead act of "one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol by volume" is a lie. It might be sufficient to answer that this provision is in the law in more than thirty States, and that the United States Supreme Court has approved this provision of the Volstead act as constitutional.

Dr. Howard Kelly, the famous surgeon of Johns Hopkins University, stated on oath: "I consider no beer safe above one-half of 1 per cent. by volume, which would mean about three-quarters of a teaspoon of alcohol in an ordinary bottle of beer." This view of Dr. Kelly was supported by other prominent experts. Though there are some persons who can drink a large amount of beer containing more than one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol per volume without apparently any intoxicating effect, there are others, who, if they should

drink the same amount of the same kind of beer, would become intoxicated, and it is the duty of the Court to interpret the law for the easily affected drinker, and even for the child.

Senator-elect Edwards may be entirely honest in his statements that the "one-half of 1 per cent. of the Volstead bill is a lie, but in view of his activity in securing the adoption of a 3½ per cent. beer bill in New Jersey, which beer is admittedly intoxicating, many people will consider the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court Justices sworn to uphold the Constitution, and of Dr. Kelly and other prominent physicians, as ample defense of the truthfulness of the definition of the Volstead act against the attack by Senator-elect Edwards. The purpose of the Volstead act is to secure the "effective enforcement of prohibition." The Supreme Court declares that Congress must "have regard to the artifices that are used to promote the sale of intoxicants in the guise of innocent beverages." The Volstead law aims to prevent that very thing—the sale of intoxicants under the guise of innocent beverages.

The increase of the percentage of alcohol beyond one-half of 1 per cent. in beverages permitted to be sold by law would necessarily result in an increase of the opportunity to sell, in violation of the law, beverages which are very intoxicating. Why should any man who desires enforcement of the law against the manufacture and sale of intoxicants favor the increase in the percentage of alcohol permitted by the Volstead act? Is it not true that, judged by their own statements, the opposers of the alcoholic definition in the Volstead act do not really desire the effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment? They persistently insist that Congress shall legalize the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer, although everybody knows that light wines and beer are intoxicating. That is to say, these critics of the Volstead act really favor nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment by act of Congress.

It should be noted, however, that, though Congress is empowered to pass legislation to secure effective enforcement of the will of the people as expressed in

the Eighteenth Amendment, Congress has no power to pass legislation which contradicts or nullifies the purpose of the amendment. It can define intoxicating liquors as containing one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol per volume, as that aids to prevent the use of subterfuges in violation of the law, but Congress could not define intoxicating liquor as containing 3.5 per cent. of alcohol by volume, for that would be an effort to legalize the sale of what is admittedly intoxicating liquors, which are forbidden by the Constitution, and Congress has no power to legalize what the Constitution prohibits, and it is unthinkable that the Supreme Court would rule otherwise.

EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT WILL ENDURE

I do not believe that such action is likely to be taken for very many years for the following reasons:

Because the moral attitude of the great body of the Christian citizenship of the nation, which demanded that the traffic in intoxicants be outlawed and branded as criminal, will never agree to assume the responsibility for the removal of the criminal brand and for the restoration of the traffic to an existence under the law. A light wine and beer amendment would restore 80 per cent. of the traffic, would make illegal selling of spirits very easy.

Subsidiary and closely related to the above reason is the undeniable fact that the prohibition law, where and when enforced, produces most beneficial results which steadily increase with years.

It is worth while at this point to recall to the mind of the reader the enormous consumption of intoxicants in the United States before national prohibition was enacted. In the year 1917, the last year without restrictions, the consumption of distilled liquor was 210,000,000 gallons, and of beer 1,884,000,000 gallons, a per capita consumption of 19.95 gallons for every man, woman and child in the United States. Likewise at that time there were for manufacturing purposes 236 distilleries, 1,092 breweries and nearly 80,000 sa-

loons and similar places of sale. Today there are no legal distillers and only thirty-seven industrial alcohol plants. There are no breweries except for near-beer products, and no saloons. The following figures are startling to those who are not posted. The production of distilled spirits was reduced from 98,577,000 gallons in 1914 to 1,631,000 gallons in 1922. Importation of spirits in 1914 amounted to 4,230,670 gallons; in 1922 to 280,000 gallons. Alcohol withdrawn from bond in 1914 amounted to 80,500,000 gallons; in 1920 to 12,500,000 gallons; in 1922 to 2,790,000 gallons (none of which was for beverage purposes). Spirits in bond in 1914 amounted to 284,406,000 gallons; in 1922 to 38,924,000 gallons. Beverage spirits withdrawn in 1914, 105,500,000 gallons; in 1922, none. Beer produced and imported in 1914, 2,057,000 gallons; in 1922, none.

It is declared in answer to the above figures that as much liquor is manufactured and sold as heretofore, that everybody can get all the illicit liquor desired. These statements are not supported by any satisfactory proof and may be branded without hesitation as false liquor propaganda. For example, the newspapers carried headlines a few days ago that 2,000,000 gallons of distilled liquors had been smuggled in from the Bahama Islands within the last four years, and probably half that quantity had been brought in from an island near the coast of Newfoundland. This is exploited as evidence of the ineffectiveness of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act. But what are three or four million gallons in four years distributed among the 100,000,000 inhabitants of the United States? It is less than one-third of a half pint per capita per year.

Similar statements are made concerning the amount of intoxicants brought in from Canada, Mexico and other foreign countries, and the amount illegally manufactured in the United States. The fact remains, however, that with all the talk of home-brew, home-made wine, moonshine, smuggled wines and spirits and pocket flasks, the consumption of intoxicants in the United States has fallen from about 2,000,000,000 gallons per annum—that is

twenty gallons per capita annually—to less than 100,000,000 gallons, or less than one gallon per capita annually. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the great bulk of this illicit traffic is concentrated in certain lawless, foreign-populated centres like New York and New Jersey.

INCREASED BANK DEPOSITS

Directly parallel with the tremendous decrease in the consumption of alcohol, and unanswerably significant, is a like tremendous increase in the savings deposits of the country. There was an increase in deposits in State and savings banks alone, from June 30, 1919, to June 30, 1922, totalling from \$7,375,170,000 to \$10,190,760,000, a gain of nearly 40 per cent. in the three years. A statement just issued by the American Bankers Association shows an increase in deposits in the single year of 1922 of \$1,500,000,000. The Federal Reserve Bank system declares that the number of individual depositors increased during the year 1922 from 5,837,313 to 6,282,271, an increase of 444,958 individual depositors during the year.

It is easy for "wet" advocates to deny or ignore the relevance of this great increase in the number of depositors and deposits in the banks since prohibition went into effect, but fair-minded men, especially our charity, real estate and insurance agents, recognize today that the money which formerly went to the saloon for intoxicants now goes to the savings banks and is spent on necessities and comforts for the family. This fact has stopped the mouths of those who predicted that prohibition would damage business and create unemployment; business has not suffered; unemployment has not increased in our country, while England, which has saloons, has an army of unemployed, and taxpayers are called upon to pay heavy unemployment "doles."

The clamor by the "wet" element against the restriction upon intoxicants for medicinal purposes is gradually subsiding in face of the fact that the rank and file of druggists are strongly opposed to bar-room drug stores. The overwhelming majority of the physicians of the country do not prescribe intoxicants. The latest figures obtainable by the writer show that

there are approximately 154,000 physicians in the United States, of which number only 33,400 have taken out permits to prescribe intoxicants for medicinal purposes.

Another fact which is evident to all observers is that thousands of saloons have been succeeded by hundreds of thousands of soft drink saloons and restaurants.

Our people all over the country of all classes and all ages are becoming accustomed to holding public functions, including all kinds of banquets, without beverages of intoxicants. The sight of public drinking and public intoxication, in short, is very infrequent, and our young life is growing up free from the old liquor customs and habits, except in a few "wet" spots.

Other good results of prohibition are evident to all except those who are so blind they will not see. For example, in New York City, which is considered to be the stronghold of the "wets," a comparison of the average of the three "dry" years with the average for the "wet" years from 1910 to 1918 shows that the death rate of the city has been cut over 23 per cent., and that assaults decreased 55 per cent. The average yearly convictions for intoxication in New York, during the "wet" years from 1914 to 1918, were 14,290. The yearly average under prohibition for 1920, 1921 and 1922 has been 6,911, an average yearly decrease of 7,379. Bellevue Hospital reports a 97 per cent. decrease in deaths from alcoholism. Reports from the Coroners in Cook County, including Chicago, shows a decrease of 49 per cent. in deaths from alcoholism. Comparing the last two "wet" years of Michigan with the last two "dry" years, there is a 60 per cent. decline in deaths from alcoholism. The Salvation Army and all charity societies declare that prohibition has been their best ally in the care of the poor and the down-and-outs.

Fresh statistics are appearing continually, indicating that wherever there is even a 50 per cent. enforcement of the law good results have followed, and that the good results steadily increase in proportion to the effectiveness of the enforcement of the law.

THE NEW SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

In a recent public address President Butler of Columbia University made this remarkable statement: "These men and women dissent entirely from the grounds upon which this case for the Eighteenth Amendment was rested, and they regard its provisions and those of the statutes based upon it as a forcible and immoral and a tyrannical invasion of their private life and personal conduct."

The apostles of individualism, too often, alas, of selfish individualism, have always raised a great outcry against any law which endeavors to limit the use of intoxicating beverages, but this reasoning sounds like an echo from an age long past in its utter failure to recognize the development of the new social conscience which is testing in the glorious sunlight of the doctrine of human rights, just what is included in the term "one's own private life," which the individual can claim the right to regulate.

This new social consciousness brushes aside without hesitation any claim of an individual to perform any action, or to enjoy any privilege, which act or privilege is a menace to the comfort, safety or life of other members of the community to which he belongs. A man's "private life" ceases the moment any act of his life affects the life of another or of the social order of which, whether he likes it or not, he is an integral part.

Literally, hundreds of illustrations can be given of the obliteration of the right of the individual to regulate "his own private life," as that term was understood a hundred years ago. The democratic spirit of the age absolutely refuses to recognize anything as "private" conduct which affects the welfare of others. The Prohibition Amendment declares that no man can manufacture or sell intoxicating liquors because a great majority of the people of the United States believe that it has been practically and scientifically demonstrated that the liquor traffic is the enemy of the economic, social and moral life of the nation, that it ministers fundamentally only to appetite and covetousness and further declares that for the sake of removing this menace to the life of the people as a

whole the great majority have agreed to surrender whatever personal right they might have claimed to traffic in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.

The great war furnished an example of self-sacrifice for the accomplishment of an ideal result. In the United States, Congress declared war and passed the Selective Draft act. What became of the principle of "the right of one individual to regulate his own private life"? It was swept aside by the demand of the social order that all private rights must be surrendered for the public welfare. Just so it has been in the warfare of the people of the United States against the liquor traffic—that age-long enemy of justice, freedom, righteousness and peace. The preamble to the Constitution declares that the Constitution is ordained "to promote the general welfare." The purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment is to promote the "general welfare."

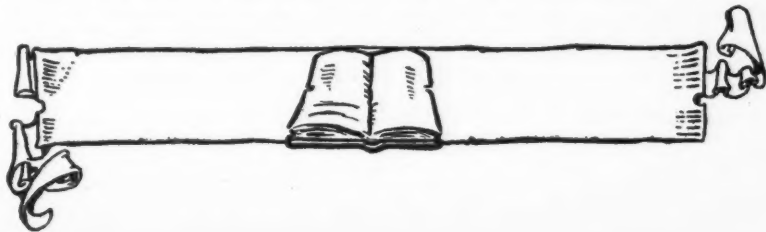
THE BALANCE SHEET

What stirred the people of the United States to put the brand of outlaw upon liquor traffic was not hysteria, nor maudlin sentiment, nor fanatical, narrow-minded Puritanism, desiring to regulate the personal habits of men; it was the horrible array of unescapable facts. A balance sheet showing the open results of the traffic in intoxicants can be struck in any town, city or State, and the balance will always be on the wrong side of the ledger. The only pretense of a claim for any items on the credit side is that it gratifies the sensual appetite of the dram drinker and the covetousness of the dram seller. On the debit side are increased taxes, paupers, lunatics, widows, orphans, harlots, criminals, murderers and damned souls.

The Supreme Court of the United States,

forty years ago, in an ever memorable decision rendered by that eminent jurist, Justice Stephen J. Field, declared that the "liquor traffic was the most prolific source of misery, insanity, vice and crime," and no man has ever yet been able to disprove the awful accuracy of that decision. It was because of that awful record that the people of the United States decided that they had the right to protect themselves from the always resulting evils of the liquor traffic. They decided after many years of open discussion and experiment that the liquor traffic is a *public nuisance*—a menace to the prosperity, comfort, peace, happiness and safety of society—and that as a public nuisance, it must be abated, and despite all efforts to defend it and to protect it, it has been abated. It has been branded as an outlaw for its high crimes and misdemeanors.

The vital question which today faces the citizenship of the nation is whether clamoring for personal selfish indulgence, or greed for illicit gain on the part of a noisy confessedly lawless minority, led by such papers as The New York World, Chicago Tribune and The Baltimore Sun, and by such individualists as President Butler, shall be allowed to over-ride the will of the people as expressed in the law, and to trample the Constitution under foot or to brush it aside; or whether, having adopted the prohibition law as a great economic, social and moral reform, the sober, intelligent, patriotic, humanity-loving men and women of the nation shall clinch the nails which they have driven. This element of our citizenship adopted prohibition. This same element can and must enforce the law. No law on the statute books is free from violation, and the prohibition law is no exception to that general rule, but it can and will gradually and finally be as successfully enforced as other laws of a similar character.



CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE TREATIES

A TREATY of peace and amity, eleven conventions and three protocols were signed on Feb. 7, 1923, at the final plenary session of the Central American Conference in the Hall of the Americas at the Pan-American Union in Washington. This successful culmination came after weeks of discussion marked by at least one crisis. Secretary of State Hughes, who presided, summed up the results attained by the conference, which had been convened on Dec. 4, 1922, on the initiative of President Harding, and congratulated the plenipotentiaries of Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica on the success of the negotiations. He spoke briefly as follows:

Your first concern has been to establish as securely as possible the foundations of stability. This object you are endeavoring to attain by your general treaty of peace and amity, your convention for the establishment of an international Central American tribunal, the convention for an international commission of inquiry and the convention for the limitation of armament.

Where on the broad earth can be found five peoples, five republics, who have more in common; who have more at stake in friendly intercourse; who have less reason for encouraging antagonisms and conflict of arms? In truth, you have no serious questions which should vex your peaceful relations. Of the boundary disputes you have now arranged to submit the list to friendly arbitration. You have development, progress and the utmost prosperity within your grasp.

In these conventions you have recognized the fact that there is no ground for apprehension in the existence of any controversies which defy reasonable adjustment, and that it is only an unwarranted interference with each other's concerns which would destroy your peace and wreck your hopes of progress.

But you have gone beyond these gratifying assurances of amity and you have sought to build upon this foundation a better civic structure.

After the formal signing, Secretary Hughes announced the decision of Guatemala and Honduras to submit their boundary dispute to President Harding for arbitration. The American delegation joined in signing the convention establishing international commissions of inquiry and an

international Central American tribunal.

In the arms convention the republics of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador agree to limit the number of enlisted men in their standing armies to an aggregate of 16,400 men for five years, to prohibit exports of arms or munitions from one republic to another, to limit the number of war airplanes to ten and to acquire no warships. Official figures submitted show the percentage of military and naval expenses of the American republics to the total budget. Ten spend more than 15 per cent., viz.: Honduras, 44.5; Mexico, 40.8; Chile, 32.2; Guatemala, 28.7; Ecuador, 26.1; Salvador, 25.7; United States, 25.4; Uruguay, 20.5; Brazil, 18.0, and Argentina, 15.7. Seven others spend more than 10 per cent.: Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela. Panama and Nicaragua spend less than 10 per cent. Haiti and Santo Domingo have no military expenses, owing to the United States occupation. This arms limitation convention will be presented to the fifth Pan-American Congress, to be held in Chile in March, in the hope that other American nations will adopt a similar program.

Ten other conventions were agreed upon at the conference as follows: For free trade, for the establishment of a Central American court, for the institution of international commissions of inquiry, for uniform workmen's protective laws, for uniformity in the liberal professions, for electoral legislation, for agricultural experiment, for exchange of students, for extradition and for permanent Central American commissions. A general treaty of peace and amity and three protocols were also signed. The first of these gives the United States preponderance in the Central American Court, permitting the Washington Government to designate fifteen citizens of the United States to serve on the tribunal.

One of the conventions—that providing for free trade—is a four-power compact, Costa Rica refusing to sign. A clause therefore was added, permitting Costa Rica to become a party to the agreement if she should later decide to do so.

LITHUANIA'S CAPTURE OF MEMEL

By COLONEL A. M. NIKOLAIEFF

The status of the German city of Memel following the signature of the Versailles Treaty—Explanation of the occupation of the district by Lithuanian irregular troops in the strategic and economic value of the territory

THE name of Memel first attracted public attention—and only for a short time—during the World War. It was in the first year of the war when this port, situated on the Baltic coast near the former Russian-German frontier, was unexpectedly occupied and held for a few days by a raiding column of Russian troops.

The name of Memel did not again appear in the arena of international politics for several years. It aroused no public interest at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, when this German city, together with its adjoining Lithuanian territory, was detached from Eastern Prussia and placed under the control of the allied powers and a French garrison.

The greater, therefore, was the surprise which was caused (Jan. 10, 1923) by the sudden advance on Memel of a Lithuanian armed force which overpowered the small garrison and took possession of Memel, just at the time when the French troops started marching into the Ruhr Basin.

The first impression made by this episode was that it was a matter of but slight importance. With the receipt of more detailed information regarding the circumstances, however, it becomes clear that Memel is one of the unfortunately not few areas in Europe where there lies a danger of serious conflagration.

Geographically, the City of Memel constitutes the only outlet into the Baltic Sea for the territory of the Niemen Basin, occupied by the new State of Lithuania. It is about 120 miles away from Lithuania's present capital, the City of Kovno; about 55 and 225 miles from the Baltic ports of Libau and Riga, and about 140 miles from the free port of Danzig.

The geographical position of Memel determines its strategic value and gives any outside country that possesses it these possibilities.

(a) To cut off Lithuania's access to the sea;

(b) To occupy a flanking position with regard to the naval communications with the Baltic ports (Libau, Riga and Reval);

(c) To make its influence felt on the naval communications with Danzig.

Memel also has a by no means inconsiderable economic value for countries bordering on Lithuania from the east, inasmuch as the port and the lower course of the Niemen play an important rôle in the export of timber by those countries.

In view of the importance of Memel, the question of its future political status became the subject of study and deliberation by a commission of the Council of Ambassadors. Long before the Lithuanian coup d'état certain plans with regard to the future of Memel were submitted to the council. The plan submitted by Poland, and which had the backing of France, was in its main features as follows:

1. The district of Memel remains autonomous under the direction of a High Commissioner of French nationality, acting as the plenipotentiary of the allied powers. The foreign policy of the Free State of Memel is conducted by the French Government;

2. A "port council" is to be created, made up of the High Commissioner and representatives of Memel, Poland and Lithuania; the council will have charge also of the transportation on the railroads and the shipping on the River Niemen in the Memel district;

3. In the harbor of Memel a free territory is to be reserved for Poland;



Map showing the position of Memel in relation to Lithuania and other neighboring States

4. The district of Memel forms an autonomous customs unit;
5. The above regulations will be in force for a period of ten years.

This plan met with strong opposition on the part of the Memel inhabitants, who did not want to see the district converted into a French-Polish colony. In the local press it was declared that the elected Government of Memel should be granted not only a consultative voice but also the right to decide, and should be put in charge of the foreign affairs of the district.

Simultaneously with the presentation of Poland's plan, Lithuania also made her desire known to the commission of the Council of Ambassadors. She requested that Memel be made part of Lithuania, but this request met with a refusal. There-

upon the Kovno Government endeavored to obtain consent to annex only the area of the district exclusive of the city, evidently in the belief that the city, without the country area, would be inadequate to solve satisfactorily the food question.

The attitude of the Russian Soviet Government toward the Memel affair was made public in a note in December, where it was said that the question could not be decided without the participation of Russia. The German press spoke with much sympathy of the Russian note, evidently for the reason that the Council of Ambassadors would not even discuss the possibility of returning Memel to Germany.

The subsequent Lithuanian stroke and seizure of Memel was carried out, according to published advices, by Lithuanian irregular forces, consisting mostly of Lithuanian peasants and led locally by Dr. Vilnius Gaigalaitas, a native of the district, who before the World War was obliged to flee from Germany because of his activities in behalf of Lithuanian independence. The latter fact is cited by the Lithuanian Legation at Washington in refutation of the advices from Warsaw that the Prussian Junkers were at the bottom of the seizure of Memel. The legation also commented on the fact that Germany had made a formal protest against the capture, and declared that German opposition was primarily based upon the hope that at some future time the district might be given to Poland as a corridor to the sea in exchange for the return to Germany of the Danzig area.*

*For the details of the Lithuanian occupation, see the article on Lithuania in "Events of a Month Throughout the World," at the back of this magazine.



THE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION OF BRAZIL

By ANNIE S. PECK, A. M., F. R. G. S.*

Author of "Industrial and Commercial South America," "A Search for the Apex of America,"
"The South American Tour," and other works

Remarkable features of a Centennial celebration which developed into a great International Exposition—Exhibits of all the great nations of the world—A rich, beautiful and impressive spectacle in a setting of fairy-like beauty

THE International Exposition of our greatest New World neighbor is receiving from the people of the United States far less attention than it deserves.

First of all, there is the setting, exquisite Rio de Janeiro, a great city standing amid tropical verdure on the shore of a beautiful bay, and set in a frame of rugged mountains, cliffs and rocky pinnacles. For scenic beauty of land and water, seashore and mountain, Rio has no rival and no peer.

Brazil's Centennial Exposition, finally opened in November, 1922, and still continuing at the time these pages went to press, had, as I saw it, remarkable features.

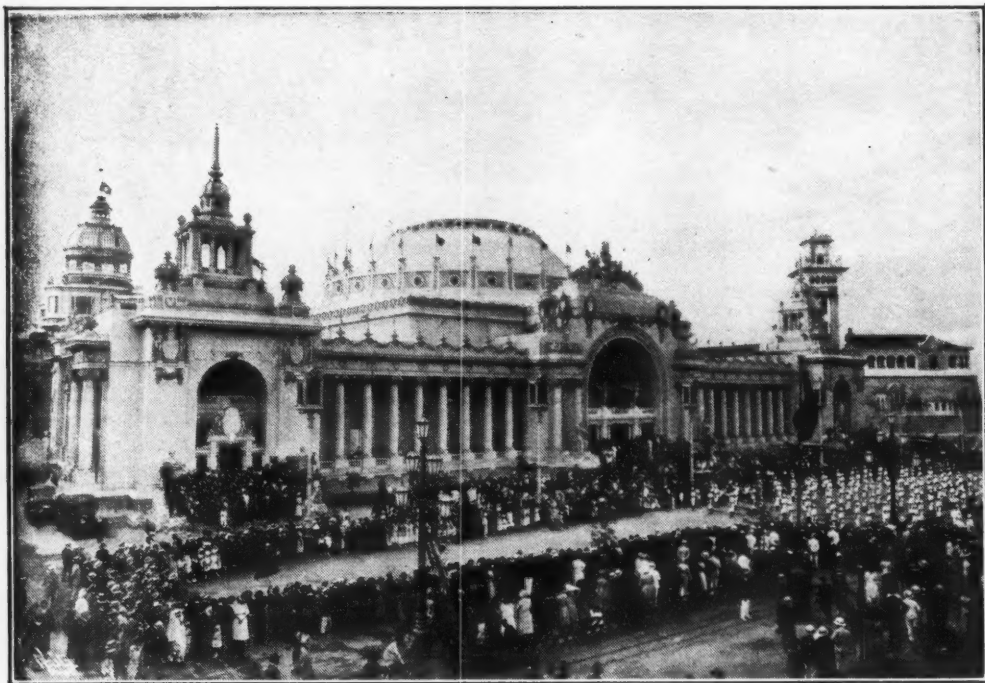
It was on Sept. 7, 1822, that the Prince Regent, on the banks of the Ypiranga River, near Sao Paulo, proclaimed the independence of Brazil. Accordingly, in November, 1921, the Brazilian Congress authorized a national exposition in September, 1922, in which should be portrayed the progress of the national life of the country in the various branches of its activity during its century of independence. Realizing that the time was inappropriate for lavish expenditure by themselves or others, and the difficulties of a great international exposition, a purely Brazilian exposition was planned by the nation's leaders. As the official guide of the exposition, however, states, "the Government was compelled by the interest of several friendly nations to transform the simple national celebration planned into a great international affair."

Although the appropriation of our Government exceeded that of any other, the United States was uncommonly slow. In spite of the early and large appropriation of \$1,000,000, and the appointment of six Commissioners at salaries of \$625 a month, construction was so delayed that the United States pavilion was not opened until Dec. 23, the last of all except that of Portugal, which was inaugurated the same day.

THE EXPOSITION GROUNDS

The grounds of the exposition are in two sections, both near the centre of the city, though a mile or more apart. The principal division extends along the bay shore from the south end of the splendid Avenue Rio Branco, where the main entrance is located, the so-called Portal of Honor, which is 100 feet wide, with a central arch. On the right is the Monroe Palace, with the Official Information Bureau on the main floor, and other offices above. From this point the Avenue of Nations extends a mile or more along the bay shore, the Brazilians with notable courtesy presenting to the foreign participants the choicest section of the grounds. At the further end of the avenue, on the left, is a plaza with a cluster of buildings devoted to the exhibits of Brazil, to which the casual ob-

*Miss Peck, famous as a mountain climber, holds the world's leading record of 21,812 feet, for Mount Huascarón in Peru, the highest altitude ever reached by an American. She has also climbed Mount Popocatepetl and Mount Orizaba in Mexico, and the Matterhorn in Europe. She is known as an authority on South American countries.



The Festival Palace at the Brazilian Centennial Exposition in Rio de Janeiro. The Calabouco (Old Fortress) is seen at the extreme right

server, taking things in order, may devote too small a portion of his time.

Along the Avenue of Nations the row of foreign pavilions is on the left, facing the bay. On the right, between the avenue and the water, is a varied assortment of structures; restaurants, amusement buildings, edifices of private industries, such as beer and mineral waters, the Company of Commerce and Navigation, and the "United Industries of Mattarazzo." Mattarazzo is a resident of Sao Paulo, and is said to be the richest Italian in the world.

ARGENTINA—First on the left of the Avenue is the only South American pavilion, that of Argentina, a fine structure of classical architecture, the cornerstone of which was laid June 21. Practically completed in November, it was soon after opened. Here may be seen valid evidence not merely of Argentina's leading industries, cattle and agriculture, but also of her activities in other directions, including petroleum and manufactures.

UNITED STATES—Beyond a narrow street

stands the United States building, a substantial structure of two stories in Portuguese colonial style enclosing a central patio. In this building are shown exhibits of various departments of the Government which attract much attention. The War Department, besides uniforms, rifles, and so forth, shows a model of a pontoon bridge and an autotruck for making maps and blueprints in the field. The navy exhibits models of ships, both old and new, and shows on a table a method of radio direction of ships at sea.

The Department of Agriculture has many models of farms, pictures of fruit orchards, and pamphlets with statistics of various kinds, as have also other departments. The Bureau of Engraving shows different processes of making money. The American Red Cross attracts especial attention by its exhibit in connection with community welfare work. The Shipping Board presents a full-sized cabin de luxe of the Munson Line steamers sailing to Brazil.

In the rear are temporary quarters irreverently called sheds, where moving pictures are exhibited daily. These present a view of the varied resources of the United States, its scientific and art productions and the scenic beauties of the country. In this section are exclusively governmental exhibits.

On the Praça Mauá, more than a mile distant, is a one-story building containing the exhibits of some of our leading manufacturers, among them many of our well-known business houses. As the number participating is smaller than was expected, the building is less than half as large as planned. Of the 30,000 feet of floor space the United States Steel Corporation occupies nearly one-fourth. Besides the exhibits, the edifice contains a restaurant, a reception room, a bandstand, a soda fountain, and so forth.

The special exhibit of the Westinghouse people has excited great interest in Rio. Radio "fans" in particular will like to know that there is a station for broadcasting on the top of Corcovado, 2,300 feet high, with the call letters, "SPC," 450-meter wave length.

Although at the moment it is prohibited to sell radio receiving sets in Brazil, many have an opportunity to "listen in" to the broadcasting through a number of receiving sets installed in the exposition grounds.

JAPAN—Next to the United States building on the Avenue of Nations is the Japanese Pavilion, in the style of an ancient pagoda, the material for which was brought 15,000 miles and set up by Japanese workmen. Within are articles in silk, embroideries, porcelain and other hand-made objects, with which we are familiar as specialties of Japan.

FRANCE—The French Pavilion, which follows, will be recognized by those familiar with French architecture as a reproduction of the Petit Trianon of Versailles, dating from 1766. The interior decoration of the palace, conforming to the style of that period, comprises a collection of loaned objects which afford a perfect presentation of French art in the eighteenth century, from museums noted pieces of Sèvres, such as the Pygmalion and Galatea, and famous Gobelin tapestries, as the celebrated Battle of Arbelles, of the group portraying incidents in the life of Alexander the Great. Large crystal vases, pieces of red copper, engravings, statues, and other art objects, bureaus, arm chairs and other furnishings from private collections were for the first time sent abroad to a foreign exposition.

The French have also a Pavilion of Industries on the Praça Mauá.

GREAT BRITAIN—The British building, next to the French Pavilion, on the Avenue of Nations, covers a much larger



The United States building at the Brazilian Centennial Exposition

space, as it contains the entire British exhibit. There is a permanent central structure with temporary wings. The interior decorations include paintings by Murat, symbolizing the Seven Seas, and an admirable roofing of glass over the central saloon covering a space of 270 square feet.

To many the most interesting feature of the interior is a relief map of the world, covering many square yards, placed in water on which little ships move, designating the main routes of ocean traffic covered by British ships; an impressive display.

In the wings of the building are shown many forms of British industry. Across the avenue in front of the British building stands a big gun, sixty feet long, said to be the largest cannon in the world.

ITALY—Beyond the British building is the Italian Pavilion, simple and austere, containing many art treasures, and with interior decorations in fine Italian taste. The industrial exhibits include crystals and laces from Venice, bronze, marble, alabaster and terra cotta from Florence, silk and damask from Milan, by the side of cotton textiles famed for the delicacy of their warp and the taste of their coloring. Here are famous wines and liquors, furniture, works of cartography and pneumatics; industrial, agricultural and world-renowned electrical machinery; automobiles of Fiat, Isotta-Franchini and Lancia, and examples of airplanes and motor boats.

DENMARK—The Pavilion of Denmark contains a worthy display of the famous Danish porcelains and ceramics. In the mechanic arts Denmark has the distinction of having first employed the Diesel motor for ships, now coming more into vogue. Most widely known are her dairy products, Danish butter and cheese of unequaled merit, which are being sent to every quarter of the globe. Of these many samples are exhibited.

MEXICO—It will surprise many to learn that the exhibit of Mexico has been pronounced by one Brazilian probably the most artistic of all, the Mexican Government having undertaken with enthusiasm the task of worthily presenting evidence of the nation's manifold resources. The

pavilion, with a richly ornamented façade, is in the Colonial style, picturesque and architecturally interesting. A mingling of Spanish and native styles is accomplished with fine skill and execution. Well-distributed polychrome decorations, the cut stone, the carving, the tiles, unite to produce a rich and even sumptuous effect, for which neither time nor expense has been spared.

Within is a highly interesting display of the natural products and the manufactures of the country, the latter in every particular the work of the natives—the weaving, dyeing, carving, painting, everything, including the machinery used in the manufacture, executed in astonishing variety by the hand of the Mexicans, chiefly by Indians, whose artistic talent and mechanical skill are clearly shown.

The development of the oil industry, and of mining, especially silver, in the production of which Mexico claims world leadership, is illustrated by photographs and by moving pictures. These also exhibit the fertility and wealth of the country, the development of the cities and the beauty of the landscape.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA—Czechoslovakia has made a valiant effort to present for the first time under its new national name a display of objects previously termed Austrian. Bohemian glassware has world-wide fame, and a collection of glass, porcelain and fine china is the chief presentation. Textiles, furniture, paper, beer, firearms, and so forth, are also exhibited.

NORWAY—Norway, in the next building, makes a practical display of articles in which Brazil is highly interested; first of all, codfish, in the production and export of which Norway is a leader. Much space is devoted to another article of importance to Brazil: paper and pulp for paper. From her enormous pine forests Norway produces annually 300,000 tons of pulp and 400,000 tons of paper.

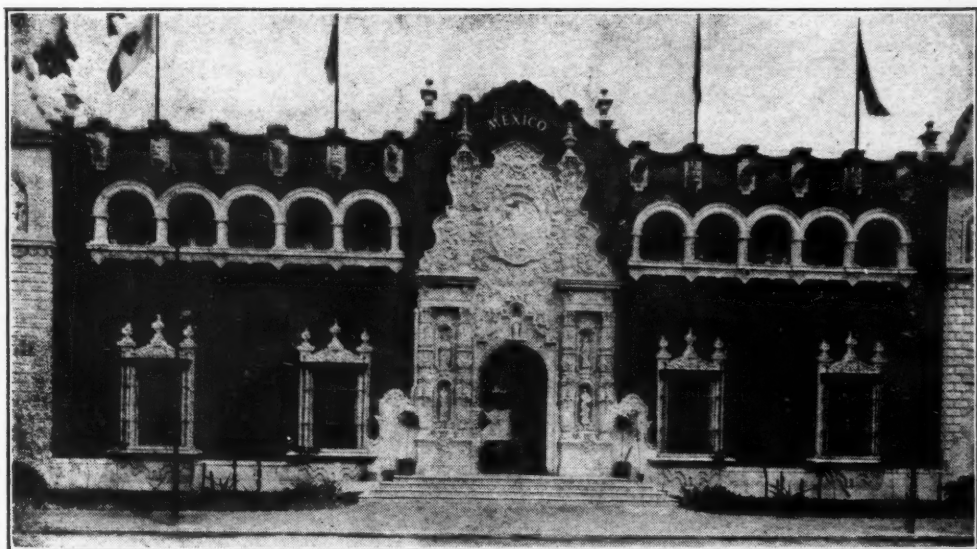
Aside from these industries, more than 150 factories and commercial houses display their wares: steam and electric machines, especially for the industries of pulp, paper cardboard and preserves; motors, oil burning and electrical; turbines, telephones, telegraphic apparatus,

dynamite, chemical products, stones, tiles, tar, aluminum, mineral waters, beer, brandy, furniture, articles in silver and enamel.

Navigation is represented by models of steamships, photographs, statistics, and a plan showing the Harbor of Rio with the entire merchant fleet of Norway in the lead. Norway now occupies the sixth place in the world's shipping; before the war she held fourth place. In proportion to population she is first. The cinematograph in the tower nightly exhibits beautiful films of Norway, its scenic beauties,

tries, as of the ordnance of Liège, jewelry, and a beautiful exhibit of the celebrated glassware of the Valley of Saint Lambert. In the wings, exhibits of book making recall the traditions of Plantin, who introduced printing into Belgium in the fifteenth century; specimens of the textile industry and of majolicas are seen. One room is richly furnished with precious objects from the museums of Brussels, furniture, tapestries, paintings, and especially lace, in which industry more than 60,000 are employed.

The steel framework of the great hall



The Mexican building at the Brazilian Centennial Exposition

industries, codfishing, sports, and so forth.

BELGIUM—The little country of Belgium, which once seemed on the verge of extinction, has with the Duchy of Luxemburg made one of the finest and most important exhibits. The allotted space on the Avenue of Nations was altogether too small for her needs, and so an area of 100,000 square feet on Praça Mauá was placed at her disposal.

The pavilion on the avenue is in the style of the Flemish Renaissance. The façade, richly ornamented with bas-reliefs, is flanked by a tower 110 feet high. Within are examples of important indus-

on Praça Mauá was constructed in the shops of Nivelles. Here the great Belgian industries are presented: steel construction, notable for elegance and lightness; material for railways, five locomotives, express and heavy freight cars, passenger, freight and one hospital; machinery for factories of various kinds; guns for hunting, shells, ammunition, cannon, automobiles, freezing machines and so forth. Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges show relief maps of their respective ports.

PORTUGAL—Portugal's pavilion, inaugurated on the same day as that of the United States, was called by the *Jornal do Commercio* one of the jewels of the

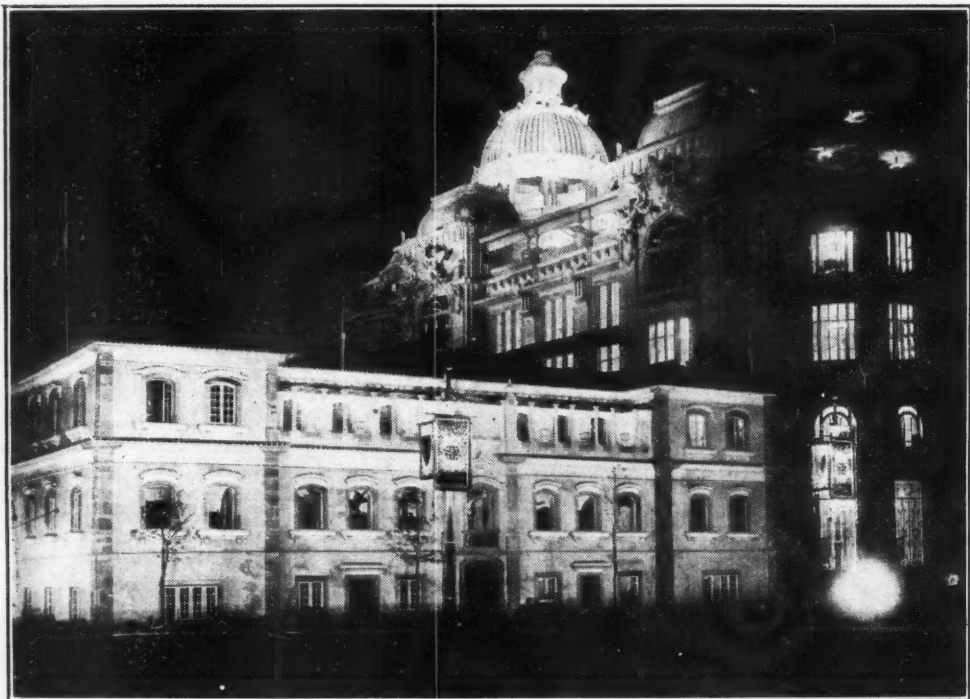
exposition. The building, surmounted by a dome, is elaborately decorated without and within. Many paintings and works of sculpture by modern artists are exhibited as well as architectural designs, engravings and caricatures; also tapestries and lace. Here also are samples of viticulture, including Portugal's well-known port and madeira wines, of her silk cultures and her textile industries.

SWEDEN—The pavilion of Sweden, constructed at home of her native wood, was brought to Brazil in a Swedish ship. The principal exhibits are from well-known houses engaged in the iron and steel industries; also products of wood, paper, pulp and cement. Three of the principal foundries have sent telephone apparatus, motors, machines for making tools, light houses and luminous buoys.

THE BRAZILIAN EXHIBIT—Brazil for her own exhibits has seven or eight buildings, of which the Palace of Industries, located in the former war arsenal, Fort Calabouco, is the largest, with an area of 90,000 square feet and a tower 125 feet

high. Many expressions of astonishment are heard over the varied and extensive exhibits of the country, especially in the line of manufactures, including machinery. Among these may be noted steel construction, bars, turbines and Pelton wheels; all the agricultural machinery used in the varied industries of coffee, sugar, cotton, rice, and so forth; a hydraulic ram, declared to be the most efficient in the world; tubes made by centrifugal castings, weights, balance scales, small enough to weigh a baby and large enough to weigh 110 tons.

Here will be found hardware, nails, wire screens, kitchen utensils of enameled iron, aluminum ware, steel safes, fire and burglar proof; all kinds of fencing, zinc embossed, pig iron made by electric furnace from iron of Brazil found in veritable mountains 60 per cent. pure; porcelain tubs, trucks, models of freight and passenger cars, railway tracks, one locomotive, machinery for sawmills, both vertical and circular; tile tubes for sewers and drainage, roof tiles of French and of



The Industrial Palace and States Pavilion at the Brazilian Centennial Exposition—the scene at night

Colonial style, coal and gas stoves for cooking.

Beverages in great variety are seen; all kinds of wines and liqueurs, excellent beer, cacao, mineral waters, many fruit beverages; of special importance, that of guaraná, a medicinal tonic made by four factories; a vast number of medicinal plants competing with foreign products. The fibres are said to surpass those of Manila in length and fineness; these include vegetable silk (poina) and cotton. Samples of rubber and of leather are shown, the latter also manufactured into shoes.

In a fine exhibit of furniture is one collection containing 600 pieces of varied patterns and of woods of different weight and density. Crockery and glassware are shown, both for table and for laboratory purposes; surgical instruments and operating tables. A display is made of harness, saddles and carriages, only the varnish for which is imported. Here, too, are models of shipyards. Cereals of all kinds are displayed, with coffee, herva matte, industries of vegetable extracts, tobacco and cigars in great variety.

The annex of the Industrial Palace contains a complete exhibit of the great mineral riches of Brazil and of its mining industries: Coal, iron, gold, silver, copper, and many others. Here, too, are the principal shoe and leather exhibits.

The Palace of States is a large building of permanent construction, with a roof terrace commanding a fine view of the grounds. Within, chemical products are exhibited — perfumery, fine ceramics, paper, books, photographs, millinery, men's hats of all varieties, minerals and precious stones, of which almost every variety is found; cotton and vegetable silk, with samples from the experiment station, haberdashery, articles of ornament and decoration.

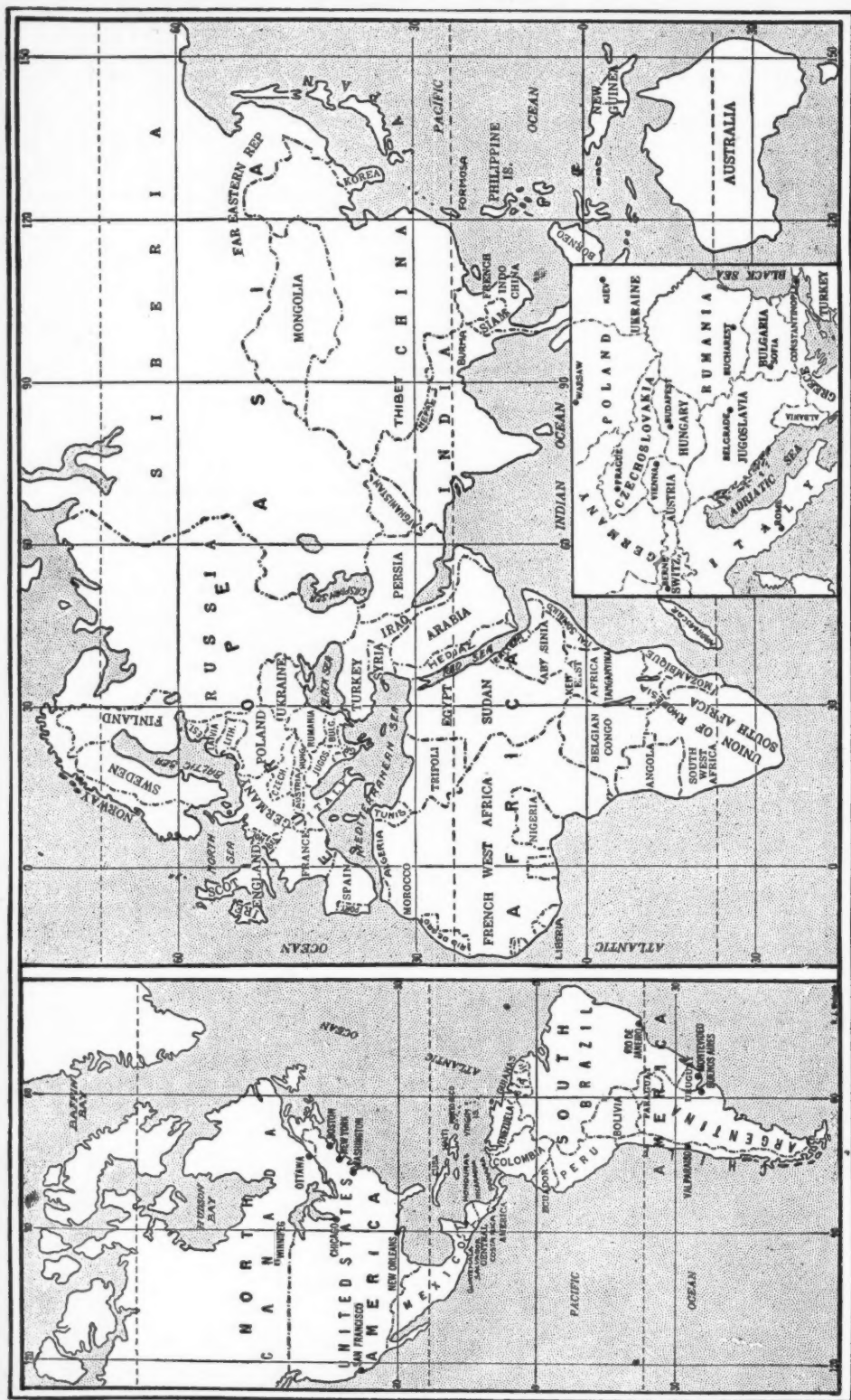
The Agricultural Palace presents exhibits of the greatest importance; 400,000 specimens, including nuts, fibres, vegetable woods in great variety, fertilizers, insecticides, samples of soil from all the States, and many other articles. Charts

include large agricultural maps of each State, showing physical, agricultural, economic, and other peculiarities; the average production per hectare of the various grains or fruits cultivated is given, the areas under cultivation, and a mass of other important data. The Promotion Department exhibits agricultural machinery and tools, foreign and domestic, with examples of their application to service in Brazilian rural life.

Much might be said of other pavilions and exhibits, that of hunting and fishing, of statistics, the amusement park, the Palace of Festas, with its great hall covered by a magnificent dome; but it should be sufficiently clear that a worthy display of progress has been presented by the Brazilian Government which deserves the personal inspection of all who are able to go.

The nightly illumination affords a spectacle in some respects surpassing any hitherto beheld in any quarter of the globe. The great dome of the Palace of Festas and the several towers are all brilliantly illuminated by the Brazilian General Electric Company, with design by Mr. Ryan, director of the illuminating laboratory at Schenectady. Though the grounds are less extensive than those of the San Francisco Exposition, the illumination, on the same general lines, is in some respects superior. The Palace of States is ornamented with 40,000 Novagem jewels — glass crystals of high refraction, imitating diamonds, rubies, sapphires and emeralds, movable by a light wind, and illumined by incandescent searchlights. The entire space becomes a fairyland, and even afar, from the veranda of the Gloria Hotel, presents a fascinating spectacle.

The Fiscal Island, almost covered with a Government building of Gothic architecture, is one of the most beautiful features of the exposition. It is flooded with searchlight beams, in addition to exterior lightings by banner standards, which bring out turrets and cupolas in red relief. Special fireworks are employed. The whole presents a gorgeous display. Such, in its large features, is the Centennial Exposition of Brazil.



MAP OF THE COUNTRIES REFERRED TO IN "EVENTS OF A MONTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD"

EVENTS OF A MONTH THROUGH- OUT THE WORLD

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 10]

ARGENTINA

THE new Foreign Minister of Argentina, Dr. Gallardo, has introduced several important reforms in the budget, among them the payment of diplomatic and consular representatives of the republic in national money instead of the foreign gold standard now in use.

The commercial situation in Argentina during the last month has shown a marked improvement, although the prospect for the cattle-raising business has been unfavorably affected by lack of rains. The European situation has contributed to the depression of the grain and meat market, by reducing the exports to the Continent, but the introduction of merchandise from the United States has increased. As proof of a simultaneous effort to appease the flurry caused by the Brazilian proposal of a preliminary disarmament conference in Valparaíso, previous to the Pan-American meeting at Santiago, and Argentina's refusal, there is an active exchange of negotiations for building new means of communication between the two countries.

AUSTRALIA

As a result of the election, a confused political situation arose owing to the unwillingness of the Country Party to fuse with the Nationalists while their leader, William Morris Hughes, continued as Prime Minister. Mr. Hughes, therefore, resigned on Feb. 2, after having been Prime Minister more than seven years. Stanley M. Bruce, the Commonwealth Treasurer, was commissioned to head a new Ministry, which would have the support of the Nationalist and Country Parties. The new Cabinet was announced on Feb. 9 as follows:

Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs—STANLEY M. BRUCE.

Treasurer—Dr. EARLE PAGE (leader of the Country Party).

Postmaster General—Mr. GIBSON.

Minister of Defense—Mr. BOWDEN.

Minister of Trade, Customs and Health—Mr. CHAPIN.

Attorney General—L. M. GROOM.

Minister of Works and Railways — Mr. STEWART.

Minister of Home Affairs and Territories—GEORGE F. PEARCE.

Minister Without Portfolio—Senator WILSON.
Vice President of the Executive Council—Mr. ATKINSON.

Commodore Addison, commanding the Australian Fleet, in an interview published on Jan. 16, declared that the Australian squadron was actually better than the squadrons maintained by the British Admiralty in the East Indies, the African and North American stations. With the approaching termination of the seagoing career of the Sydney, the active fleet remaining would be the cruisers Adelaide, Brisbane and Melbourne, the patrol leader Anzac and one or two destroyers.

AUSTRIA

Austria's financial condition continues to improve under the League of Nations plan, with Dr. Alfred Zimmermann of Rotterdam directing the arrangements. The Austrian crown, stabilized at about 70,000 to the dollar for several months, shows a slight advance. The cost of living has decreased 15 per cent., and savings bank deposits have grown in three months from 11,000,000,000 paper crowns to 86,000,000,000. The National Bank shares were oversubscribed, and the institution has taken over the finances of the old Austro-Hungarian bank on a gold basis. The first statement of the new bank showed cash reserves of 26.7 per cent., as against the 20 per cent. required by law.

At a meeting of the League Council in Paris on Feb. 1 Austria was authorized to borrow from international bankers £3,500,000 to begin the recovery. The total to be sought is about \$130,000,000. The loan is to be guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Belgium and Switzerland in fixed proportions, and to be based on Austrian railroad and customs receipts. Expenditures are strictly controlled by Dr. Zimmermann, the League Director, who has an absolute right of veto over all expenditures.

The Reparation Commission in Paris, on Jan. 23, divided the old unsecured Austrian debts in the following proportions: Austria, 36.82 per cent.; Italy, 4.08 per cent.; Poland, 18.78 per cent.; Rumania, 1.61 per cent.; Serbia, 2.04 per cent.; Rumania, 1.61 per cent.; Serbia, 2.04 per cent. succession States assume the Austrian unsecured debt as from July 16, 1920.

Austria's process of deflation and economy, in-

cluding a drastic reduction of the civil service, has added to the number of unemployed, and Communists and Socialists have been taking advantage of the unrest. Demands for allowances to the unemployed led to a great demonstration on Jan. 27, and clashes occurred between factions in the National Assembly. The session was suspended for several hours on Feb. 4, owing to the disorder, 200 idle visitors in the gallery adding to the disturbance below by shouting, "We are hungry; give us bread!" The altercations reached the Cabinet Council, where members of the Government party and the Social-Democrats came to blows on Feb. 6.

Disturbances of another kind were caused by the Austrian Fascisti, who are violently anti-Semitic. Expulsion of the Jews was advocated openly at a demonstration before the Vienna City Hall on Jan. 21, and on Feb. 5 a mob of Fascisti, disapproving of a lecture by Professor Hirschfeld, a Berlin pathologist, set fire to the building in which he was speaking and attacked the panic-stricken audience when it emerged, thrashing, stabbing and trampling on many persons.

The arrival of the German General, Ludendorff, at Klagenfurt on Feb. 4 was the cause of serious fighting between Socialist workmen and Pan-German irregulars. Ludendorff had intended to address the National Peasants' Congress, but was attacked when driving from the station and prevented from reaching the hall. He was not allowed to enter Vienna, but was put aboard a train and sent back to Germany.

BOLIVIA

The political situation in Bolivia is critical. The minorities in both Senate and Chamber of Deputies have entered into a compact for aggressive policies against the Executive. The Government has answered the request for troops to keep order in the House of Representatives by offering the police force instead. This offer was declined on the ground that as the police were in sympathy with the gallery their presence would not restore the respect due to the representatives of the people. At the same time a group of the Opposition in the House signed a memorial to President Saavedra asking for his resignation as his contribution to the restoration of peace and harmony throughout the country. The document met with a curt reply, the consensus of public opinion being also unfavorable to these methods. The majority of the members of the Cabinet presented their resignations and went back to their parliamentary posts the President being left for a time with only two Secretaries of the Ministry. The Opposition press bitterly denounces the Government, and especially the attitude of President Saavedra.

General Montes, former President of Bolivia,

now expatriated in Chile, declares no other measures can re-establish constitutional normality in Bolivia but return to the free expression of the public will, beginning by calling to the head of the Ministerial list in the Cabinet a man who is backed by prestige among all of the parties and who possesses no designs whatever to be the successor of the present incumbent to the Presidency of the republic.

President Saavedra has decreed the re-establishment of free communications in the capital and the reopening of cable and telegraph lines. The measure of embargo was dictated at the time of the mining outbreaks in the district of Corocoro.

An interpellation has been conducted in the House of Representatives, asking the Secretary of the Treasury the reasons why the Equitable Trust Company of New York, representing American subscribers, protested the payment of interest by a loan to the Bolivian Government. The Secretary of the Interior gave a tangle in the public accounts as the reason for the misunderstanding.

BRAZIL

The first act of the new President of the republic, Dr. Arturo Bernardes, was to extend the period ending the last day of December, 1922, during which martial law had been put into effect by President Pessoa following the revolutionary attempt of three months ago. A lively but short-lived political agitation was caused in the State of Rio Grande do Sul by the re-election of the President of the State, Dr. Borges Madeiro. It is asserted in the local Legislature that men are being armed to exert pressure on the popular representatives.

The death of the eminent jurist, Professor Souza Sa Viana, has caused widespread regret in cultural and political circles of Brazil.

Twenty-three American commercial delegates from the cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles have left the Pacific Coast for a visit to Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina, where they will study the possibilities of a more active trade between the centres of the Pacific Coast of the United States and the markets of the Atlantic Coast of South America. Another mission to embark for South America was a party of 200 American physicians and their families, who have sailed from New York for Rio Janeiro, Montevideo and Buenos Aires. At the head of this mission is Dr. Franklin Martin of the School of Physicians and Surgeons and Vice President of the Gorgas Institute, about to be established by the Government of Panama in memory of the great scientist and philanthropist.

Resentment created by the fact that an American naval commission should have been sent to Brazil seems to have influenced Brazilian public

opinion, making it less enthusiastic over the step taken by their Government. It is pointed out that no official reception was tendered the American naval men, headed by Vice Admiral Vogelgesang, when it landed at Rio.

BULGARIA

Bulgaria was with the Turks in their rejection of the treaty presented by the Allies at Lausanne, but for a different reason. Her delegates, on Jan. 26, informed the powers that she flatly refused to accept the outlet to the Aegean Sea which they had offered, consisting of a port near Dedeagatch under form of a lease, and the use of the railroad under international control. Bulgaria demands complete sovereignty over the Aegean port, and also over the special corridor along the Maritza River, both of which were explicitly ceded to Bulgaria by Turkey during the war, and transferred to her with elaborate ceremonies, presided over by the Sultan.

Premier Stambulsky, speaking on the Reparation Commission's demand for payments, which he declared Bulgaria was unable to meet, said that if the Allies did not abolish the burden of reparations on Bulgaria and give the required outlet to the sea, and insisted on using force, he would deliver to them the dead bodies of the bourgeois Ministers, referring to members of the Guchkoff, Daneff and Malinoff Cabinets, who are still in jail awaiting trial on charges of being responsible for the war. A bill for their trial within a month passed its first reading on Jan. 27.

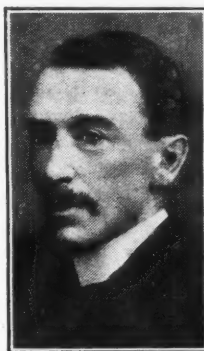
A bomb was thrown at Premier Stambulsky on Feb. 4 while he was seated in a box at the National Theatre in Sofia with three of his Ministers. No one was injured, and the bomb thrower escaped.

CANADA

In the speech from the throne at the opening of the fourteenth Dominion Parliament on Jan. 31 Lord Byng, the Governor General, in congratulating the country on the substantial progress made toward recovery from the general depression following the great war, pointed to the increase in the volume of trade, the diminution of unemployment, and the restoration of Canadian currency to a position of equality with that of the United States, as indications of the improved situation. Adverse agricultural conditions, however, made it advisable to appoint a committee to inquire into sundry features capable of improvement. This situation was attributed by Colonel H. Burnell, President of the United Farmers of Manitoba, in an address before the annual convention at Brandon on Jan. 9, to the trend of the population toward the towns, and to the high taxes and the high rates, whereby more farmers

were in financial difficulties than ever before, notwithstanding a record-breaking crop.

For the first time since the election of the new Canadian Parliament, Premier Mackenzie King found himself in possession of a working majority of two, caused by a secession from the Progressive Party. Though this majority was small, it was thought to be sufficient to relieve the Government of the necessity of yielding to the demands of the main body of the Progressive Party, or "agricultural bloc."



LOUIS A.
TASCHEREAU
Premier of Quebec

After twenty-seven years in office, George H. Murray, Premier of Nova Scotia, resigned on Jan. 24. He was succeeded by G. H. Armstrong, Minister of Public Works and Mines.

Though it was understood in Washington on Jan. 24 that formal proposals had been made by the Canadian Government to the United States Government covering a new agreement to replace the historic Rush-Bagot convention of 1817 regulating armaments on the Great Lakes, it was stated that the Canadian Government was not disposed at this time to negotiate a treaty with the American Government for the deepening of the St. Lawrence waterway, owing to the large outlay of money that the project would involve.

According to official figures published on Jan. 26, immigration to Canada decreased 25 per cent. in the period from April to December, 1922, as compared to the same period in 1921. The total for the period in 1922 was 60,247. In 1921 it was 79,823. Immigrants from the United States last year were 18,982 and in 1921, 24,594.

Complete general election returns in the Province of Quebec on Feb. 5 showed that the Liberal Government, headed by Premier Louis A. Taschereau, had retained its majority. Of eighty-five seats contested, the Liberals won sixty-two and the Opposition twenty-two, leaving one seat to be filled later. Previously the Liberals had sixty-five seats and the Opposition sixteen. In Montreal the Opposition captured thirteen out of fifteen seats. Arthur Sauve, leader of the Opposition, was elected.

CHILE

The fifth Pan-American conference, scheduled to meet March 27, has abandoned hopes of securing the presence of delegates from Peru and

Mexico, the Government of Lima alleging measures of violence against Peruvians residing in Northern Chile as the reason for its refusal to send representatives, while Mexico lays its negative to the fact that the Obregon Government not having yet been recognized by the United States, it does not deem it advisable to participate in a meeting of friendly nations. Early plans to invite Canada to send delegates to Santiago were abandoned in order to avoid any possible complications arising from Canada's colonial status. For the same reason a suggestion made at the last minute by some Latin-American Governments to have the League of Nations invited to sit at the conference table was put aside at the suggestion of the United States.

After exchanging at Washington the ratifications of the protocol signed by representatives of Chile and Peru in July last year, with the object of arbitrating the contentions developing from the interpretation of the Ancon treaty, official requests were laid before President Harding on Jan. 16 asking him to serve as the arbiter in determining whether the plebiscite provided for in the treaty for the final award of the Provinces of Tacna and Arica is still valid or not, and in case of an affirmative decision, what rules must govern the ballot. The special commissions sent by Chile and Peru to Washington with the purpose of validating their particular point before the arbiter are on their way to the United States. The men that were at the head of the delegations which negotiated the agreement of last year, Señor Porras for Peru and Aldunate-Solar for Chile, will preside also over these new bodies.

The procedure for the arbitration case has been agreed upon as follows: presentation of the case by each party; interchange of each respective allegation, with two months' time to submit a reply through the arbiter. To these counter-allegations the countries affected can submit new observations for a final revision by the arbiter. It is expected that at the end of the present year the case will be ready for the Presidential award.

The Chile copper mines, the largest holdings of copper ore in the world, have passed under the control of the Anaconda Copper Company, involving a transaction of several hundred million dollars.

CHINA

Extended conferences were held by M. Adolph Joffe, Soviet Russia's Minister to the Peking Government, with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, former President of the Canton Government, in Shanghai prior to the Russian representative's departure

to Japan. M. Joffe is said to have assured Dr. Sun that Russia would do all it could to further the reunion and independence of China. According to Soviet papers of Jan. 12, M. Joffe had proposed to the Chinese Government at Peking the conclusion of an alliance, the Soviets being willing to waive Russia's share of the Boxer indemnity and all privileges regarding the import of Russian goods into Mongolia and Manchuria except as regards territory contiguous to the Chinese Eastern Railroad, this being subject to a special régime.

The situation in Canton remained threatening. Recently the provisional troops took the southern capital from Sun Yat-sen's enemy, General Chen Chiung-ming, who had ousted Dr. Sun as President of the South China republic. In the first week of February, General Hsu Tsung-chi, with 40,000 troops, was advancing upon Canton to reclaim the southern capital for Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The American cruiser *Helena*, four British warships, and one French and one Italian gunboat, were standing by to protect their nationals in the impending battle and looting. Most of the foreign merchants were on Shameen Island, under British and French flags, but missionaries in other sections of the city were exposed. Business houses were closed and barricaded. Young soldiers, after confiscating much property and driving out the police, who had sympathized with the harassed population, paraded the streets heavily armed. Some 10,000 Cantonese troops, driven out by the provincial forces after their commander, General Wei Pang-ping, had been imprisoned, were waiting outside the southern capital to join General Hsu's advancing army in the attempt to recapture Canton. Within the city, the Yunnan and Kwangsi troops numbered about 28,000.

It was reported on Jan. 21 that Hupeh Province was swarming with bandit hordes, some as strong as 40,000, who carried missionaries and other foreigners about with them as hostages to ward off possible attacks by the Government troops. Lao Yang-jen, formerly an officer under General Chao-chieh, was most prominently mentioned among the bandit leaders. General Wu Pei-fu, who last Summer became dictator after his defeat of Chang Tso-lin under the very walls of Peking, recently mobilized his own division for the invasion of Hupeh Province, but dared not act while the bandits held so many foreign hostages. The release of many of these missionaries and other foreigners was secured by Captain Liang Ki-chun of the staff of General Chio Yun-ao, who had the temerity to go alone and unarmed to Lao's headquarters and demand the release of the Rev. A. M. Lundeen and H. E. N. Ledgard, American missionaries, and C. U. Forsberg, a Swede.

On Feb. 2, the American, British, French and

Japanese Governments, through their representatives at Peking, submitted a joint note to the Chinese Government, on the critical condition of Chinese governmental finances, urgently advising the Chinese Government to use the receipts expected from the new tariff for the adjustment of its foreign obligations, and thus prevent the misappropriation of future Government customs receipts by powerful military Governors, such misappropriation having been the bane of China in recent years.

COLOMBIA

The American financial commission requested by the Government of Colombia for the reorganization of their treasury left for Bogota on Feb. 14. A man of international reputation, Professor Kemmerer of Princeton University, is at the head of the commission.

Three important laws have been passed by the Colombian Congress in connection with the reorganization of Colombia's financial system. One of these laws authorized the aid of the foreign financial commission, in which the Federal Reserve Bank is represented. Another provided for the establishment of a national bank, and the third authorized the call for a loan of \$100,000,000, part of which will be devoted to public works, especially the building of railroads. The financial commission has planned for a seven months' stay in Colombia.

The Executive has sent to Congress a message asking for the Parliamentary approval of the pact arrived at with the Government of Peru for the settlement of the boundary dispute.

CUBA

The proposal to purchase the Isle of Pines from Cuba has been revived in the United States Senate by Mr. Pomerene of Ohio. In the Platt amendment to the Cuban Treaty of 1901, the Isle of Pines was omitted from the constitutional boundaries of Cuba and "left to future adjustment." There the matter slept for twenty-one years until Americans have acquired 90 per cent. of the island's property, and Senator Pomerene now thinks it time to settle the question.

Action by Congress on Jan. 11 paved the way for the establishment of an American Embassy in Cuba, and the appointment of Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder as the first United States Ambassador by an amendment to the Deficiency Appropriation bill, fixing his salary at \$17,500.

Bids for the \$50,000,000 thirty-year 5½ per cent. Cuban loan were awarded in Havana to J. P. Morgan & Co. at 96.77 per cent. on the dollar on Jan. 12, and offered for public subscription in New York three days later. The

contract for the loan was signed on Jan. 26 by President Zayas, who declared that the flotation had absolutely stabilized the Cuban Treasury.

In spite of a decline last year in Cuban trade amounting to nearly 50 per cent., an optimistic feeling prevails owing to the expectation of another 4,000,000-ton sugar crop with better prices and no carry-over. Tobacco reports also are favorable. There was a great decrease in immigration in the fiscal year ending June 30, the total being 20,184, compared with 148,361 the previous year.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dr. Eduard Benès, Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs, in a statement made before the Parliamentary Committee on Jan. 31, outlined the Prague Government's views on the Franco-German crisis. He said: "France has lost her faith in Germany. She has spent more than 80,000,000,000 francs on the restoration of the devastated regions, so that her internal debt amounts to more than 300,000,000,000 francs. If she does not get financial help her whole budget will collapse by 1930." Czechoslovakia, he said, would continue the policy of friendship toward the Allies, and would do everything she could to maintain peace. She would not intervene in the reparations question, and had no intention of mobilizing her armies.

There was every indication that the financial strain in Czechoslovakia, due to the reduction of her inflated currency, had passed its peak. Customs receipts were increasing, despite reduced tariffs, and tobacco monopoly revenues were exceeding the estimates. Government control of coal mines had been abolished, but it retained a majority interest in the oil wells, which are vastly profitable to the State. The French branch of the Standard Oil Company recently abandoned its plans for exploitation of the fields because Czechoslovakia insisted that the majority of the directors of new enterprises be Czechoslovaks, with places reserved for members of the Government.

DAGHESTAN

According to a Moscow dispatch of Jan. 30, President Sumzofsky of the small mountain Republic of Daghestan in the Caucasus had informed Captain Cyrel J. Quinn, acting head of the American Relief Administration, that 150,000 of his people were starving and 250,000 were suffering from tropical malaria. As an illustration of the plight to which the Daghestan nation, composed chiefly of Mohammedans, was reduced, the President said that the women had practically no clothing and were even without

veils to hide their faces. In applying for American relief President Sumzofsky added that in the 30,000 miles of Daghestan territory no less than sixty-three dialects were spoken.

DENMARK

The Rigsdag passed a bill establishing a State guarantee for the Landmansbank until April 1, 1928, and King Christian signed it immediately, on Feb. 5, enabling the bank to open for business at the usual hour. The Landmansbank, maintaining eighty branches throughout the country, and closely connected with the shipping, agricultural and industrial interests of Denmark, is the most important bank in Scandinavia. After a crisis that ruined many fortunes in the North, this bank was reorganized last Autumn, the Danish Government participating to the extent of 40,000,000 kroner in the 100,000,000 kroner of preferred shares issued under the reorganization.

EGYPT

Lord Allenby on Jan. 10 issued a proclamation which stated that any person who witnessed an attempt on the life of a British subject, or possessed information likely to facilitate the discovery of the author of outrages, and who failed to inform the police, would be tried by a military court. Persons who impeded the discovery of the criminals by threatening or by persuading any one not to inform the police or give evidence would be tried by a military court and, if convicted, would be liable to the death penalty.

On Feb. 5 the Egyptian Ministry tendered its resignation to King Fuad, who declined to accept it. The crisis rose out of differences with Great Britain over the sovereignty of the Sudan, which is claimed by Egypt. The Egyptian Ministry had yielded to the British position to the extent of agreeing to a compromise and reserving the question of the sovereignty of the Sudan for future negotiations.

ENGLAND

The French occupation of the Ruhr region produced hardly any differences among the various sections of British opinion. It was generally agreed that neither France nor any other country would obtain immediate benefit, and that the whole European situation was endangered. Though the Government adopted a policy of awaiting developments, the Labor Party became insistent that Great Britain, if possible in co-operation with the United States, proceed to diplomatic intervention to bring about the withdrawal of the Franco-Belgian troops from the Ruhr, and the submission

of the question to the League of Nations. British labor also demanded the recall of the British troops from the Rhine. Though it was understood Premier Bonar Law was in favor of the return of the troops to avoid possible complications, the Cabinet, on Jan. 26, decided to continue the present occupation, on the ground that circumstances did not necessitate immediate withdrawal. On Jan. 28 the British Government officially stated that it would not prohibit the export of coal to Germany if so requested by France.

Much indignation was roused by the note sent by Premier Poincaré to the Angora Government in which, it was understood, the Turkish Government was notified that France did not agree to all the provisions of the treaty which the Turkish delegates at Lausanne were to be asked to sign and that, in the event of their failure to do so, France reserved the right to negotiate a separate agreement. Though such action was considered disloyal to the Allies, it was explained as being forced upon French diplomacy, which was fearful of adding to its troubles in the Ruhr. Publication by the British Government of a note from France on Feb. 1, which recapitulated the right of France to undertake separate negotiations with Turkey in the event of the failure of the Lausanne conference, deepened the resentment against French foreign policy. News of the refusal of the Turks to sign the treaty on Feb. 4 was received in London with calm, as it was believed that the negotiations would be resumed later.

The unemployed problem remains serious. Since there is no prospect of a trade revival, emigration is being put forward as a solution. Railroad and road development have reduced the 1,500,000 unemployed by a third, leaving the remainder still dependent upon State or private charity. The year 1922 showed reductions in wages of £5,000,000 a week, affecting 7,500,000 work people. In 1921 the reductions amounted to £7,000,000. It was stated that 19,892,000 days were lost during 1922 in 525 disputes, involving 552,000 workers.

The Treasury reported that for the nine months of the fiscal year beginning in April there had been an increase of £91,268,588 in public revenue, and a decrease of £167,136,144 in public expenditure.

A notable advance in radio communication was achieved on Jan. 14 when persons speaking in New York were clearly heard in Southgate. Among those present at the English end was Guglielmo Marconi, who exchanged greetings with President H. B. Thayer and Vice President J. J. Carty of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

It was officially announced on Feb. 8 that the Princess Mary, Viscountess Lasalle, gave birth to a son on Wednesday, Feb. 7. This was the

5000
35
1750000

first grandchild of King George and Queen Mary, ranking sixth in inheritance from the throne.

The engagement of Prince Albert, Duke of York, second son of the King and Queen, to Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, daughter of the Earl of Strathmore, was announced on Jan. 15.

Arthur Henderson, labor leader and former member of the War Cabinet, has been re-elected to Parliament to represent East Newcastle.

World returns of shipbuilding showed Great Britain had regained first place in the output of tonnage with 1,043,590 tons, Germany being second with 631,485 tons.

FINLAND

Political tension continues over the question of making Finnish the official language of instruction at the University of Helsingfors, to the exclusion of Swedish. The Swedish tenet is that the tall, blond Finns are really Nordics, upon whom the Finnish language was forced by prehistoric conquerors related to the Hungarians; denial of this by the Finns forms the basis of the culture struggle which underlies the language question in Finland.

Though absolute prohibition is law in Finland, as in America, the Council of State, on Jan. 25, approved the proposal of M. Saiminens, Chief Director of the Standing Committee on Alcohol, for a State investigation as to what proportion of knifing affrays and other misdeeds and casualties result from the use of intoxicating liquors. Statistics are to be taken from the Helsingfors Surgical Hospital records for the years 1913, 1921 and 1922 of misdeeds and casualties obviously caused by use of alcohol.

Senator Stenroth, following severe attacks on the management of the Bank of Finland, resigned his post as Governor of the bank, Jan. 18. The charges related to speculations of a mysterious nature in Swedish crowns and to heavy losses incurred by the bank through its intervention on behalf of two private concerns.

FRANCE

With France's increasing difficulties in the Ruhr and with multiplying causes of concern at home as the first month of the experiment of occupation drew to an end, came a growing impatience of public opinion with the "too gentle" policy of M. Poincaré. The French press contrasted France's method with that of the Germans when they occupied Northern France, and recommended that their Government acquaint itself with force.

Criticism of M. Poincaré's management, with the almost negligible exception of that from



EDOUARD HERRIOT

One of the leading Liberal politicians in France today. An article on Russia written by him appears on Page 956 of this magazine

sources of a Communist character, in no case favored abandonment of the experiment, but rather increasing use of force. To allay this criticism, the semi-official press emphasized the Government's statement that more effective steps were about to be taken. The Foreign Office on Jan. 30 published a statement by General Degoutte in Düsseldorf that German resistance was responsible for new measures, and that "moderation is not a synonym of weakness, and those who think our patience is without limit make a grave mistake."

Despite the disquieting factors of a rise in the price of coal in France; an increase in the cost of living, which was shown to be 296 per cent. higher than in 1914; the fall of the franc, and the fact that the new move was costing something like \$50,000 a day, business circles showed no signs of uneasiness. Stock had been taken of the real character and probable consequences of the Ruhr intervention, and there was no ignoring of the fact that the move would not give immediate results and would be temporarily a source of expense. No doubt was manifested, however, that German resistance would yield within a few months at the most, and that France would ulti-

mately attain her object in the form of some payments and, particularly, guarantees of their continuance. The Bourse market closed January with advancing stocks and a general firmness. The fall of the franc was laid by the French press to a plan of international bankers who by this means hoped to influence the French in their Ruhr experiment.

That the occupation had not yet caused any troublesome expenditure by the Treasury was indicated by the fact that a report of the Bank of France on Jan. 25 showed that for the preceding week there had been no change in the amount of advances made by the bank to the Government. Strength of the Government's credit was further shown by the fact that subscriptions to the new 3,000,000,000-franc Credit National loan were proceeding satisfactorily.

A financial measure of great importance to the French taxpayer, without, however, any direct connection with the Ruhr expense, was taken in the middle of January, when M. de Lasteyrie, Minister of Finance, laid before the Chamber of Deputies a proposal to increase all forms of taxation, with the single exception of that earned on incomes, by 20 per cent. The Minister explained that the measure was intended to produce sufficient revenue to meet the deficit of 3,500,000,000 francs, that it was for one year only on a provisional basis, and that it was understood that "no further recourse will be had to it once the payments due from Germany have been received." On Feb. 2 the Commission on Finances of the Chamber again attempted to balance the budget and decided to recommend a scheme for the registration of the coupons of all securities, whereby it expected to prevent evasions of income tax payments, amounting to 1,200,000,000 francs. The commission at that time expressed its willingness to accept a 10 per cent. increase in taxation, instead of the 20 per cent. proposed by M. de Lasteyrie, and made other proposals in the direction of economy of administration.

The Commission on Foreign Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 17, adopting the report of Deputy Raynaldy in favor of ratification of the Washington conference agreement concerning the Pacific, decided to recommend the same reservations made by the American Senate concerning military intervention.

Marshal Lyautey, French Resident General in Morocco, at the middle of the month explained to the Governing Council the plans of military operation for 1923, expressing the hope that this year it would be possible to bring the campaign to an end. A few days later the Ministry of War published details of a skirmish near Taza, in which two intelligence officers and twelve men were killed and nine wounded, the rebels, however, being ultimately put to flight.

Senator Alexandre Ribot died in Paris on Jan.

13 at the age of 80. He was four times Foreign Minister and four times Prime Minister.

The Government's plan to operate a 50,000,000-franc nitrogen and synthetic ammonia plant and its agreement to purchase the rights of the Haber patent from the German Badische Anilin Company were approved in the Chamber of Deputies on Feb. 6, and Government leaders expressed confidence that Parliament would sanction the proposed operation of the great Toulouse gunpowder plant for the manufacture of fertilizers as well as gunpowder materials.

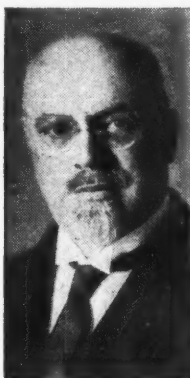
GERMANY

The last troops of the American army of occupation were withdrawn from the Rhineland on Jan. 24. The lowering of the Stars and Stripes that so long had floated over the massive walls of the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein was an impressive ceremony. The American troops departed in two trainloads to Amsterdam and sailed home on the transport St. Mihiel. Many of the soldiers took with them their German wives and children. General Allen, the American Commander-in-Chief, was subsequently summoned home from the Rhineland. The departure of the American "doughboys" was regretted by all—by the French because of the loss of moral support which the Germans would read into it; by the Germans because they regarded the presence of the American forces as a possible restraining influence on French policies.

The French occupation of the Ruhr continued to present many disquieting features. The story of the extension of the line of occupation and of the strikes and other form of resistance offered by the Germans to the French invasion and Administration, including support of the Ruhr people by the Berlin Government, will be found elsewhere in these pages.* The arrest, and trial on Jan. 20, of Fritz Thyssen, the middle-aged son of August Thyssen, the octogenarian industrial "King of the Rhineland," for refusal to obey the French commands relative to his Ruhr mines, made him a national hero. The whole course of the occupation was marked by many manifestations of German patriotism. Thousands of young men applied for admission to the Reichswehr, and when rejected, formed volunteer units. Monarchistic activity was rife. French and Belgian guests at Hamburg hotels were requested to leave, following a series of anti-foreign demonstrations at hotels and restaurants. Similar demonstrations of German bitterness toward foreigners were made in Berlin.

The situation was further marked by a re-

*See "France's Seizure of the Ruhr," by Charles H. Grasty; also "The Extension of the French Occupation." The details of the trial of Thyssen and five other industrial magnates will be found under the last named article.



DR. FRANZ
SCHWEYER
Bavarian Minister
of the Interior

not be penetrated, steadily advanced during the last half of January, the collapse of the mark continued. By Jan. 30 it had fallen to 50,000 to the dollar. By Feb. 9 it had reached the point of 0.003 of a cent, or 33,333 1-3 marks to the dollar, the fall being accelerated by increased paper issues to meet the ever-growing demand for currency, which remained insatiable. Wild speculation resulted in a rise of prices of staple commodities, ranging from 79 to 576 per cent. In an effort to obtain some stability, the Berlin Stock Exchange issued "rye bonds" in denominations of 2,600 tons, while the Baden Agricultural Bank accepted mark deposits booked as so much wheat, according to the day's quotation.

Germany was brought to the bar of judgment late in January over the question of the opening of the Kiel Canal to allied shipping. On March 21, 1921, the German authorities had refused to allow the steamship Wimbeldon free access to the canal. On Jan. 19 the Permanent World Court of Justice at The Hague announced that the dispute had been referred to it for decision by four allied powers—the first example in history of the arraignment of a sovereign State by other sovereign States—under Article 37 of the tribunal's statutes and under Article 386 of the Versailles Treaty. This article reads thus: "The Kiel Canal and its approaches shall be maintained free and open to vessels of commerce

newal of the Rhineland separation movement. Dr. Dorten and Leo Deckers, leaders of this movement, renewed their propaganda at a meeting of the Separatist Party at Aix-la-Chapelle on Jan. 21. Neither the German nor the Belgian authorities interfered. Germans who attacked Herr Dorten's home, however, were beaten off, and Belgian sentries were stationed on the porch.

Though stocks on the Berlin Stock Exchange, for reasons that could



PROF. PAUL N.
COSSMANN

Editor of the Süd-deutsche Monatshefte, who has become the most talked of publicist in Germany by reason of his inspiring advocacy of national ideals

and war of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of entire equality." The German contention is that the treaty does not require free admission of allied shipping to the canal.

GREECE

The sudden death of the late King Constantine at Palermo, on Jan. 11, briefly recorded in the February issue of this magazine, was due to an attack of cerebral hemorrhage. The exiled monarch had been in poor health since 1915, when he was attacked by pneumonia.

The revolutionary Government of Athens sanctioned court mourning for six months, and allowed Prince Paul, the Heir Apparent, to go to Italy to attend the funeral, but King George was not granted permission to accompany him. The revolutionary authorities obstinately refused to comply with the King's request that his father's body be brought to Athens for interment at Tatoi, where the remains of George I, the father, and Alexander I., the son, of Constantine are buried.

The Greek Revolutionary Committee on Jan. 18 seized Constantine's estates, declaring them State property.

The Athens Government on Jan. 21 declared a general amnesty for all political offenders, with the exception of those already tried and convicted. The Revolutionary Cabinet was reorganized, the new Ministers appointed being G. Papandreou, Minister of the Interior; M. Missios, Minister of Justice, and General Mavromichalis, Minister of War. Colonel Gonatas retained the post of Premier without portfolio.

The decisions of the Near East Conference at Lausanne continued to have strong repercussions in Greece. The exchange of Greek and Turkish prisoners of war, and of the civil populations in the respective territories, was agreed upon by the Greek and Turkish delegations on Jan. 17 and ratified on Jan. 30. The exchange was to take place seven days after the signing of the peace treaty.* Greek citizens living in Turkish territory were not affected by the agreement, which concerned only the Ottoman Greeks. The Greek refugees in Athens on Jan. 21 staged a great mass demonstration against the proposed exchange of populations.

Meanwhile news of Turkish oppression of Greeks continued to arrive. On Jan. 24 the Government received information that thirty Greeks had been hanged by the Turkish authorities in Ismid. On Jan. 26 it was learned that the entire Greek population of Trebizond, in the Pontus, had been expelled from their homes and driven away. The

*For the breakdown of the Lausanne conference, and its dissolution on the Turks' refusal to sign the treaty, see the article on the Lausanne conference published elsewhere in these pages.

Greek army in Thrace, according to published statements of General Pangalos, commander-in-chief in Thrace, had been reorganized, and was ready to avenge the disaster of August, 1922, when the Greek front collapsed in Asia Minor. The French Minister at Athens paid a formal visit to M. Alexandris, the Greek Foreign Minister, on Jan. 11, and through him solemnly warned the Greek Revolutionary Government against any renewal of hostilities in Western Thrace.

It was reported on Feb. 1 that Greece had received 300,000 rifles and 500 guns from England, and that a Greek army of 100,000 men was ready for action in Thrace. Colonel Plastiras, head of the Revolutionary Committee, left Athens on Jan. 27 for Lausanne, where he was to discuss Greek affairs with M. Venizelos. An Athens dispatch of Feb. 2 stated that M. Venizelos would shortly return to Greece to take charge of the situation.

HOLLAND

Reactions to the Ruhr occupation were manifested in various phases of public life in Holland. By Jan. 25 the Dutch War Office had taken measures of protection in Eastern Holland, including the reopening of cavalry barracks at Doesburg, against eventualities believed to be foreshadowed by increase of thefts, robberies and other petty crimes along the border which have been attributed to bands of irresponsible Germans. Holland's fear of an invasion of hungry Germans from the Ruhr and anxiety over the extreme difficulty of defending the 300 kilometers of Dutch-German frontier have been persistently reported.

The Dutch National Federation of Trade Unions on Jan. 24 decided to place 150,000 guilders at the disposal of the workers in the Ruhr, this sum representing 21.2 per cent. of the Dutch trade unions' capital.

A daily air service for passengers, mail and freight was organized on Jan. 30 to connect Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Cologne by the Royal Dutch Aerial Navigation Company, to begin operation as soon as consent could be obtained from the occupation authorities in the Ruhr district. This air service was organized owing to the temporary suspension of all railroad service between the Netherlands and the Rhineland. The Government early allayed anxiety over the delay in receiving coal from the Ruhr by announcing that France had guaranteed the Dutch coal supply as soon as the railway service was in hand.

The powerful station erected by the Netherlands Government at Kootwyk for receiving and transmitting wireless telegrams between Holland and the Dutch colonial possessions was completed

Jan. 20 and had made its messages distinctly heard in Java, 7,500 miles away, and also in America. The station, equipped with German apparatus, is said to have the same capacity as the Long Island wireless station, and was designed to prevent a recurrence of Holland's wartime isolation from her East Indian possessions, America and the outside world.

HUNGARY

Dr. Seipel, Chancellor of Austria, who had a conference with Count Bethlen, the Hungarian Premier, at Budapest early in January, concluded an agreement by which all disputes of a political nature are to be brought before a special court and submitted to the League of Nations. Tariff inequalities are to be removed.

Reports of Hungarian mobilization and conflicts with Rumania or Yugoslavia were declared to be without foundation in official advices from the representatives of the respective States, including the American Consul at Budapest. The reports chiefly originated in Vienna and Berlin. More definite are the accounts of a revival of anti-Semitism.

The will of ex-Emperor Charles, opened in the Chamberlain's Court in Budapest on Jan. 9, makes no disposition of his property, but deals solely with the guardianship of his children, which he entrusted to Empress Zita, who is also named Regent of the heir apparent, Prince Otto, until he attains his majority. The will is in Charles's handwriting, and is dated Hertenstein, Switzerland, Oct. 5, 1921.

Moving pictures of Charles and Zita have been forbidden by the Budapest police as capable of provoking royalist disorders.

INDIA

At the annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and Ceylon in Calcutta on Jan. 8, the Viceroy, Lord Reading, pronounced the economic outlook hopeful, since the crops were good, the balance of trade favorable to India and exports better. Tea had experienced a remarkable revival, and the outlook in the jute mills was most encouraging. Lord Reading added that India was marching steadily, constitutionally and peacefully to her ultimate goal of self-government and a greater place in the empire and world. He deplored the resolutions adopted by the National Congress at Gaya, which he did not believe conveyed even a faint echo of India's real voice, but which would not prevent the Government from continuing its vigilant watchfulness and from using all its resources to combat and quell the forces of disorder if they became manifest.

After a protracted trial at Allahabad the 172 prisoners in the Chauri Chaura case were on Jan. 10 found guilty of murder, arson and dacoity (brigandage), and sentenced to death. Of 228 originally accused, 2 were convicted of being members of an unlawful assembly and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment, 6 died in jail, 1 was discharged on account of sickness and 47 were acquitted. The charges grew out of an anti-British demonstration at Chauri Chaura on Feb. 4, 1922, when 17 native police were killed and the police buildings burned.

A disturbance occurred in Tiptur, Mysore Province, through the Government granting permission to the Mohammedans to reconstruct a mosque within the Hindu quarter, on the distinct understanding that the Mohammedans should not object to Hindu processions with music passing in front of the building. The Mohammedans contended that as music had never before been played before the mosque, it should not happen now. The Hindus appealed to the Government, and won the right to play music in religious processions passing the mosque. Thereupon riots followed, necessitating police intervention.

Announcement was made in New York of the shipment of \$4,500,000 in gold to India, thus placing India among the few countries with an American trade balance in their favor.

Unrest among the Mahsuds on the northwest frontier was reported from Peshawar on Jan. 13. In a fight with a patrol near Razmak the Mahsuds lost their leader and had four wounded. Raids by Shahjui Waziris were checked by punitive operations on Jan. 9, 10 and 11.

IRELAND

The Government of the Irish Free State has continued to maintain itself in office in spite of political opposition by Labor and continued Republican hostility. With the Ministers residing under military protection in Government House, peace negotiations vanishing in the face of a renewal of personal outrages and train wrecking, and the burning of the homes of Free State adherents, Parliament reconvened on Jan. 9, confronted with the necessity of insuring the safety of members of both houses and of enacting more severe punitive measures. On the same date a political convention was assembled in Dublin of delegates from every county, among whom was President Cosgrave. In this assembly a new party was formed pledged to the unification of Ireland, development of national culture, industrial and commercial progress and agrarian reform.

During the meeting of the Dail Eireann on Jan. 11 the committee considering the new electoral bill adopted the much-contested clause debarring policemen on full pay from exercising

the franchise. Later the whole house passed the Amnesty bill, dealing with British military offenders, which action, it was hoped, would be reciprocated by the British Government in the case of Irish war prisoners.

The Freeman's Journal on Jan. 19 printed a message of congratulation to the new Irish Free State from President Harding. The message, which had been delayed, read: "President Harding, on behalf of the American Government, expresses the sincere hope that the people of the Irish Free State, to whom long-standing ties of kinship and affection bind so many Americans, may enjoy the blessings of peace, prosperity and happiness."

The Republican Government on Jan. 14 issued a proclamation signed by de Valera and Austin Stack, Republican Minister of Finance, which declared that an unconstitutional and usurping junta had been set up by the British Government, and gave due notice that all debts and appointments by the so-called Government were null and void unless sanctioned by the Dail Eireann. Exception taken by Republicans of the Catholic faith to the pronouncement of the hierarchy condemning their actions resulted in the formation of a Catholic Appeal Committee. This committee sent to Rome a protesting delegation, which was received by Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, and Pope Pius. The delegation returned to Dublin on Jan. 23, and reported that Cardinal Gasparri was forwarding the protest to Cardinal Logue for reply on behalf of the hierarchy, and that when the reply had been considered by the Sacred Congregation a report would be submitted to the Pope.

A stringent code of penalties for attacks against the army and State was drawn up by the Army Council for the approval of Parliament and published on Jan. 17. By this code the death penalty was prescribed, after trial by military court, for any encouragement of murder, for possession of plans prejudicial to the safety of the State or the national forces, or for having, without authority, military or police uniforms. Penal servitude was provided for those assisting prisoners to escape from either civil or military custody.

From a reported meeting of Irish extremists in London on Jan. 24, it was gathered that Moscow was pressing for stronger results in return for material support furnished by way of Communist channels in Scotland and the United States. Mr. de Valera was stated to have been present and to have urged a milder course, but his advice was disregarded.

Defense Minister Mulcahy warned the Dublin City Council on Jan. 25 not to carry out its intention of putting employes in jail on half pay, since the Government held that such action was indirect support to the Republicans. The penalty

for not heeding the warning would be seizure of the City Hall and funds and the dissolution of the Council. Minister Mulcahy, in reporting an enthusiastic response to his appeal for short service recruits to meet the present emergency, disclosed the fact that the national army was recruited up to the full strength allowed by the Anglo-Irish treaty. The plan for the reorganization of the Free State Army was announced on Jan. 26. It substituted for the old home district brigade formations a system of battalions and regiments, of which it was decided to organize sixty-five infantry battalions, each of 497 men.

The Senate debated on Jan. 25 a proposal to establish a direct line of steamers between Ireland and the United States, the matter being referred to a committee for inquiry and report.

In the Dail on Jan. 31, after Labor Deputy Figgis had warned the Government not to put down lawlessness with counter-lawlessness, Defense Minister Mulcahy pointed out that the authorities had been holding their hands in a spirit of clemency, but in view of the terrible campaign of the last few days, the determination was reached to put down the conspiracy, "even at the expense of the life of Senator Bagwell," the latest victim of Republican kidnaping. At the same time a proclamation issued by the Government threatening extended reprisals unless Senator Bagwell was released had the desired effect, though a counter-proclamation made by Liam Lynch on Feb. 1 gave notice that hostages held by the Republicans would be retained pending the carrying out of Minister Mulcahy's threat, and that for further execution of Republicans retribution would be exacted from the Government executives and every member of the Dail and Senate.

A conference of members of the old Irish Republican Army, who had remained neutral in the present conflict, assembled in Dublin on Feb. 4 to move for peace. A committee was elected to report on the situation.

Mr. de Valera on Feb. 5 addressed a long message to the American people which blamed ex-Premier Lloyd George for the present trouble in Ireland.

The new plan of the Republicans to achieve results by an active campaign against the economic life of the Free State rather than by military operations has been proceeded with. On Jan. 11 the Sligo Railway Station and several locomotives were destroyed by armed men. On Jan. 13 Senator Oliver Gogarty, a noted ear and throat specialist, was kidnapped in Dublin and taken into the country, but managed to escape by throwing his fur coat over the heads of his two captors. On the same date President Cosgrave's home at Ballyboden, County Dublin, was burned to the ground, a similar vengeance having been visited upon the properties of five Senators. On

the night of Jan. 15 Republicans attacked the Royal Barracks, headquarters of the Irish command, the Freeman's Journal and a garage occupied by National troops. The capture by National troops of the entire staff of the first Republican southern division at Kilmichael on Jan. 22 resulted in information being obtained that rebel operations in that district were being entirely directed toward the destruction of railways, bridges and houses. On Jan. 24 the Republicans raided Castlemain, where they attacked the barracks, burned the railway station and blew up a bridge.

The vendetta being waged by the Republicans against the members of the Dail and the Senate was responsible for the kidnapping of Deputy Joseph McBride near his home in the west on Jan. 25, and his being held as a hostage. Telegraph communication between Dublin and the west and south was cut on the 26th. What was described as Ireland's most spectacular railway wreck was perpetrated in County Wexford on the 26th, when the Republicans captured four trains and piled them on top of each other in a mass of twisted steel. Five mansions of Free State sympathizers were burned down on Jan. 30. Among them was the beautiful country home of Sir Horace Plunkett at Foxrock. The early part of February witnessed a continuation of raids, shootings and burnings in Dublin, County Cavan, County Cork and elsewhere.

In reprisal, the number of executions by the Free State Government in several places from Nov. 17 up to Feb. 6 totaled fifty-five. Among these five National soldiers were shot on Jan. 8 as deserters. After the executions at Dundalk on Jan. 22, women praying for the men outside the jail were dispersed by machine gun and rifle fire over their heads.

ITALY

The Chamber of Deputies, after a short debate on Feb. 6, ratified the Washington treaties for the limitation of armaments without a dissenting vote. Ex-Premier Orlando, Minister of the Navy Admiral Thaon di Revel and Premier Mussolini, all urged ratification. Deputy Giunta urged making peace in the old Roman fashion by preparing for war, but did not object to ratification. Premier Mussolini, who spoke last, urged ratification to disprove allegations of Italian militarism and imperialistic designs, but discounted hope of permanent peace.

Plans for reorganization of the Italian Navy and increase of such units as were in commission were approved by the Italian Council of Ministers on Jan. 16. The present strength, eight cruisers, sixty-four destroyers and forty-three submarines, is to be reduced by 1931 to twenty-one destroyers and four submarines, failing further construction and non-replacement. As

replacement construction is slow, it was deemed necessary to begin building at once. The present personnel of 40,000 is to be gradually increased to 45,000.

The first week in February Italy sent four columns of troops against rebellious tribal chiefs in the hinterland of Tripoli. During the distraction of the World War these insurgent chiefs had reduced Italy's colonial possessions in Tripoli to the coast towns.

It was given out at the Vatican on Jan. 30 that the Pope would not intervene in the Ruhr situation unless requested by both parties. On the recommendation of Pope Pius, prayers for world peace were offered at an impressive ceremony in the Basilica of St. Paul on Feb. 4.

The Government's firm measures to stamp out Communist agitation resulted, by Feb. 6, in the arrests of more than 100 Red leaders in various parts of Italy, and seizure of hidden stores of bombs and other weapons, besides literature and documents. The General Workers' Union of Turin on Jan. 25 was dissolved by Government decree for alleged interference in politics and Socialist proclivities.

Though the funeral of the late King Constantine of Greece on Jan. 14 was a private ceremony, the Italian Government gave full military honors to the deceased monarch in an impressive ceremony at Naples.

JAPAN

No official notice was taken in Washington of the misquoted reply of Premier Kato, Jan. 23, to an interpellation from the Opposition Party leader that though no formal negotiations had occurred, "an agreement of some sort might eventually be reached by America, Great Britain and Japan regarding steps to be taken" if the other powers failed to ratify the Washington conference agreements on armament limitations. The correctness of Japan's conduct ever since the conference, and the probability that France and Italy would soon ratify the Four-Power Treaty (Italy ratified it early in February), made it unnecessary for the American Government to discuss the intimation given by Premier Kato in connection with the Diet's debate on his foreign policy. M. Kato expressly denied saying that any such understanding existed.



MASANAO HANIHARA
Japanese Ambassador
to the United States.
He has acted as
Foreign Minister of
Japan

A request to the Japanese Government from the German Reichsbank for a loan of 50,000,000 gold marks, offering as a guarantee a lien on that amount of gold marks which the Reichsbank has in the Bank of England, was reported on Jan. 30. To Japan's request for a ruling by British jurists on the validity of the operation, the reply was that there was no judicial obstacle.

General Tamemoto Kuroki, one of the most famous warriors of Japan, especially noted for his strategy in the Russo-Japanese War, died Feb. 4, at the age of 78.

JUGOSLAVIA

American engineers have completed a preliminary survey for a railroad line 350 miles long to run from Belgrade to Cattaro on the Adriatic Sea. The construction will be in American hands, and the cost is to be covered by a Yugoslav loan for \$100,000,000.

Jugoslavia recently made inquiries in the United States indicating that she wished to place orders for munitions with American firms, and would be glad to purchase 500,000 surplus rifles from the War Department. The latter proposition was vetoed by the Administration on the ground that the Government must discourage the sale of arms to foreign countries as tending to provoke war.

A tentative commercial agreement between Jugoslavia and Poland has been signed at Warsaw, providing for a reciprocal lowering of duties on sugar, textiles, oil and wine.

LATVIA

Latvia's first Parliament, which opened Jan. 9, has elected a veteran Social Democrat and revolutionary, M. Frederick Wessmans, as its President, by a vote of 72 to 12. The formation of the new Government has been delayed by differences of opinion between the Centre parties and the Left Socialists on candidates for a number of Ministerial posts and the difficulty of forming a Cabinet without the 'Left Socialists' co-operation.

LITHUANIA

The armed irruption of Lithuanian irregulars in the Memel district of East Prussia on Jan. 10 was an event fraught with grave possibilities, in view of developments in the Ruhr and in Turkey. Calling themselves the "Little Lithuania Volunteers," the invaders, some 8,000 strong, wearing civilian clothes, and including many machine-gun detachments, marched upon the City of Memel, an important lumber port, after occupying the rest of the district. Thus, while France and Germany

were in a state of quasi-war on the Ruhr, French soldiers found themselves fighting shoulder to shoulder against the Lithuanian invaders of the 4,000 square miles of debatable territory in the remotest corner of the former German Empire.

The Lithuanian Government at Kovno denied that any regular Lithuanian troops had crossed the border, and declared that the district had spontaneously revolted and demanded union with Lithuania. The principal committee of Memel proclaimed itself the government of the whole territory, while the invaders proclaimed their leader, M. Simonaitis, as President. The leader of the territorial revolt was Dr. Vilius Gaigalaitas, a Protestant pastor, who was born in the district and represented it as a member of the Prussian Landtag from 1900 to 1915, when he was forced to flee to Russia because of his activities in behalf of Lithuanian independence.

At noon, on Jan. 13, the raiders opened fire on Memel City, which was defended by 200 French soldiers under Captain Petisne, Allied High Commissioner, and by 100 German police, who had drawn up all the jackknife bridges connecting with the mainland. Eighty Lithuanians were killed or wounded the first day, but the firing continued and the raiders took the city by storm on the afternoon of Jan. 15, losing only six men. All the city, except the French barracks, were soon in insurgent hands. Declaring that the insurgent action was directed solely against the German district government, "which was proving itself intolerable," M. Simonaitis demanded immediate withdrawal of all allied troops from Memel. This demand was disregarded.

The Council of Ambassadors decided on Jan. 17 to dispatch a special commission to form a provisional government for Memel under allied authority and re-establish order. The single English cruiser, dispatched to Memel on Jan. 12, was joined, on Jan. 16, by five French torpedo boat destroyers. The next day the French cruiser *Voltaire* brought 1,000 regular troops. The Lithuanian Government protested to the British and French Governments against the arrival of a Polish cruiser in Memel on Jan. 16, and two days later the vessel sailed away. The Polish Government announced that it would adopt whatever policy the Allies agreed upon with regard to Memel.

About 2,000 Lithuanian peasants of the Memel district, supported by troops from Lithuania, were then occupying the city, which continued quiet. On Jan. 20, the "Little Lithuania" Government, at its first meeting, unanimously voted to annex the district to Lithuania and to appeal to Kovno for financial and military aid. The 100 delegates in the "Parliament" were elected from thirty-six Memel villages, the majority having formerly lived in the United States.

The German Government, as a protest against

the seizure of Memel, broke off diplomatic relations with Kovno, stopped negotiations for a commercial treaty, and instructed its newly appointed Minister to Lithuania not to present his credentials. This action seemed to dispose of allegations that the Memel coup was organized and financed in Germany.

In a note to the Council of Ambassadors, the Lithuanian Government on Jan. 19 denied complicity in the Memel events, declaring it had taken all measures as early as possible to enable the frontier guard to prevent the passage of the irregular "volunteers." Premier Galvanauskas stated, however, in the Lithuanian Diet, that Lithuania would not accept any decision of the Council of Ambassadors which did not correspond to the desires of the population of the country.

An ultimatum handed to the Lithuanian Minister of Foreign Affairs in Kovno, on Feb. 3, by representatives of England, France and Italy demanded withdrawal within seven days from the Memel district of all armed elements, and dissolution of the Simonaitis Government and the territorial "Committee for the Salvation of Lithuania Minor." Nonfulfillment of the measures specified in the ultimatum, which accuses the Lithuanian Government of organizing, instructing and financing the armed bands then infesting Memel, would be followed by allied suspension of diplomatic relations with Lithuania, and a turning of the matter over to the League of Nations.

On Feb. 3 the Council of the League of Nations in Paris ended its sessions, after discussion of the Vilna problem, involving the question of the neutral zone created between Poland and Lithuania to prevent collisions and bloodshed between the two armies. This was the stormiest meeting in the history of the League. Poland accepted the measures proposed by M. Hymans for disarming the bands infesting the neutral zone, but the Lithuanians objected, M. Sidzikauskas threatening, on behalf of his country, armed resistance to any attempt by Poland to apply these measures. Thereupon M. Viviani sternly warned the Lithuanian delegate that such an attitude would not be tolerated. He said that Lithuania knew what duties she undertook on entering the League, and was bound to abide by the League's decision. Otherwise Articles XV. and XVI. of the League Covenant would be applied, and all diplomatic and commercial relations with Lithuania would be broken off by all the other members of the League. M. Sidzikauskas was sharply called to order when he tried to justify his attitude, and was informed that if any act that could be characterized as an act of war was brought to the League's notice, Lithuania would be expelled from the League and considered as being in conflict with all the

powers belonging to the League. Impressed considerably by this threat, the Lithuanian delegate withdrew without offering further objections.

MEXICO

President Obregon on Jan. 19 opened a session of Congress to consider the establishment of the Mexican Federal Bank and to interpret Article 27 of the Constitution relating to oil and property rights. For the latter purpose a committee of five was to be appointed to report to Congress, with the assurance that its recommendations would be accepted and incorporated into a law. Señor de la Huerta, Secretary of the Treasury, is to head the commission. It will meet the oil men, mine owners and others interested, and will draft a bill for presentation to Congress.

Labor troubles have been increasing in Mexico. The street-car men of Mexico City struck on Jan. 21 for the third time within a year. Extremist violence led to pitched battles with the Government forces, resulting in a number of casualties. More than a hundred persons were arrested, and Federal troops patrolled the district at night. Order was fully restored by Feb. 3.

The Mexican authorities in their move against the Catholic Church organization, which they hold is interfering in politics, went back to the Constitution of 1857 to find a ground for attack. One clause prohibits religious meetings in the open air. A monster procession and open-air ceremonies had been planned for the laying of a cornerstone of a shrine near Monte Cubilete. Governor Madrazo of Guanajuato forbade the affair, on the ground that it violated the old Constitution. Nevertheless, the ceremonies were held on Jan. 11, the Papal delegate, Mgr. Ernesto Filippi, being the chief celebrant. Two days later an order for his expulsion within seventy-two hours was issued by the Federal Government.

Señor Calles, Minister of the Interior, said: "Mexico in future intends to take steps to prohibit high foreign dignitaries of the Church from practicing their religious beliefs in Mexico. There are sufficient Mexican prelates of high standing who can fulfill all obligations to the Church."

The Italian Minister was extremely active in Mgr. Filippi's behalf. The Vatican authorities, when informed of the alleged violation of the Constitution, attacked the action of the Mexican Government as illogical and unjust.

Mgr. Filippi was expelled on Jan. 19, going by way of the United States, and sailing for Rome on Feb. 7. Many protests were received from Catholics, both in Mexico and the United States. The Mexican Foreign Secretary, Señor Pani, cabled to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, that Catholic activity in Mexican politics had placed President Obregon in the painful position of expelling Mgr. Filippi.

In answer to a protest by Mexican Catholics, President Obregon wrote that the Government's social program was essentially Christian, and, in agreement with the Catholic principles, essentially humanitarian; that the Government sought to develop in the country where the "oppressed classes had experienced during long and bitter years the contact of all manner of injustice and absolute absence of a spirit of justice and fraternity."

A dispatch from Mexico City on Feb. 4 stated that the public consecration of Mgr. José Manrique Zarati as Bishop of Huejutla had been forbidden by the Under Secretary of the Interior.

More than forty Generals who fought in the revolution met in Mexico City on Jan. 26 and founded a society to oppose the so-called Fascista movement, which, they say, is secretly supported by the Catholic authorities, and by one international Catholic body. Anti-Catholic societies are springing up in many States, and are declared to be provoked by alleged religious interference in politics.

The Mexican Fascista movement was started in Jalapa two years ago and spread rapidly to the principal cities, including the capital, where offices were established. Traveling agents were sent to all parts of the republic to spread propaganda against the land laws, as well as against socialism and communism.

At the other extreme of the political scale are the Communists, who flourish chiefly in Yucatan. It should be remembered that up to April, 1915, slavery practically existed there, so that present conditions are a natural reaction. Natives were forced to work in the fields, were beaten and lashed, and women were assaulted by the wealthy landowners. Then General Salvador Alvarado entered the State at the head of a revolutionary army, and socialism spread rapidly. Felipe Carrillo, an intense radical, was elected Governor in 1921 by a vote of 60,043 to 4,367, and he still holds office. On Jan. 13 he was granted leave of absence by the Yucatan Legislature to visit Russia and study Bolshevism at first hand. General José Maria Sanchez, Governor of Puebla, recently returned from a similar errand in Russia.

Mexico, on Jan. 11, in a note to Chile, declined to take part in the Pan-American conference at Santiago, quoting the regulations of the Pan American Union that only the diplomatic representatives of American republics accredited to the Government of the United States are eligible to the governing board of the Pan American Union, and declaring that it would be beneath the dignity of Mexico, a sovereign State, to be represented by proxy. Mexican newspapers applauded the decision, saying that Pan-Americanism is nothing but the hegemony of the United States, and a weapon of "Yankee imperialism."

Kansas joined the ranks of States urging recognition of Mexico by the Federal Government

by a resolution of the State Senate on Jan. 30. North and South Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin had previously adopted similar resolutions, and Texas took the same action on Feb. 8.

Mexico has deposited in New York sufficient funds to cover the entire amount of interest requirements on all its external bonds falling due April 1, amounting to about \$3,375,000. Two British financiers are perfecting details of the turning over to its original owners of the Inter-oceanic Railroad in accordance with an agreement by Finance Minister de la Huerta. It will be the first road turned back to private ownership.

Both branches of the Mexican Congress have approved the administration measure creating the Bank of Mexico, which is expected to open in April. Fifty-one per cent. of the capital stock is to be held by the Government.

NEW ZEALAND

Fuller details of the liquor problem show that 272,443 votes were cast for the continuance of the present system, 34,261 for State purchase and control, and 290,566 for prohibition. There was thus a majority of 16,138 against prohibition.

The reform party issued a statement on Jan. 11, declaring that the most important question of the hour was whether revolutionary socialism should be tolerated, and that the dominating issue was that between progressive constitutional democracy and Communism. The reform party therefore objected to the continued existence of three separate parties when a strong Government was essential. This statement was interpreted as an invitation to the Liberals to support the Government with or without a formal coalition, and thus continue Premier Massey in office.

NORWAY

A proposal to submit the Norwegian-Danish dispute over East Greenland to the League of Nations or to the International Court of Justice at The Hague for arbitration was made by Judge Castberg, leader of one of the Norwegian political parties, Jan. 19, and has been meeting with considerable approval in Norway. A warm controversy has been carried on in the press of the two Scandinavian countries for many months, since the Norwegian Government refused to recognize the claim made by Denmark during the World War to sovereignty over the whole of Greenland, and asserted the rights of large Norwegian economic interests on the little inhabited East Coast.

The Government on Jan. 12 submitted to the Storting its military budget, which calls for 32,950,000 kroner, this signifying a reduction by 3,880,000 kroner on last year's military budget.

PALESTINE

The Palestine Government has arranged for a loan of £2,500,000 to be floated in London. Crown agents have already advanced considerable sums, and £1,250,000 has already been spent. With the exception of £50,000 assigned as a loan to Transjordan and £300,000 to be used for the purchase from the French owners of the Jerusalem-Jaffa Railway, the loan is required for public works.

Following the census the people were invited to claim Palestine citizenship and elect a Legislative Council. The result was that out of 40,000 registered citizens, only 91 were Christians and 11 Moslems. The remainder were Jews. Members of 41 different nationalities were among the applicants.

The British Secretary of State for the Colonies on Jan. 11 received the Palestine Arab delegation in London. The Duke of Devonshire in reply to the delegation said that the whole question of Palestine was being considered by his Majesty's Government without bias, but that he could hold out no hope that there would be any departure from the policy of the late Government as set forth in the White Paper of June, 1922, which contained the declaration concerning the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

PANAMA

A contention that the United States never acquired the territory of the Panama Canal Zone in fee simple, either by purchase, cession or conquest, is set up by the Government of Panama in a memorandum to the State Department. The note asserts that "fiscal jurisdiction of the Panama Canal Zone, in so far as imports and exports are concerned, has not ceased to be vested in the Republic of Panama." Panama insists that the object of the treaty was to "give to the United States all that was necessary for the construction, operation, maintenance, sanitation and protection of the canal, and nothing more."

In reply the State Department points to an article of the Panama treaty which grants to the United States "all the rights, power and authority" it would possess "if it were sovereign of the territory, to the entire exclusion of exercise by Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority."

Washington is preparing a new treaty to supplant the Taft agreement covering the Canal Zone. Panama holds that the canal should be declared a completed project, and that the existing authority for taking over additional lands should be terminated. Washington proposes a new method for appraising lands.

Panama Canal tolls are still mounting, those for January reaching \$1,505,298, establishing a

new record for one month and exceeding by \$500,000 the return for January, 1922. Increasing profits from the canal have led to a revival of the project for a second interoceanic railway. There is a steadily increasing monthly balance, and it is argued in Administration circles that the funds could be profitably applied to building a canal through Nicaragua, rights for which have been acquired by the United States.

Hitherto Costa Rica has objected to the United States using a jointly owned river for the canal and to the use of Fonseca Bay on the Pacific side for the same purpose. The State Department on Feb. 7 announced that negotiations were in progress to remove these objections. A protocol was signed by which the United States agrees to consult Costa Rica directly in case it is decided to construct the canal.

PERU

The Government has negotiated a loan for £12,000,000 with the firms of Schoders and Baring Brothers of London, offering as guarantee the income from the exportation of guano. The Senate is investigating the contract with the Marconi Wireless of London and Lima for the management of communications in Peru, including the telegraph and Post Office.

The State is prosecuting the Directors of the Peruvian Navigation Company for embezzlement of funds.

PHILIPPINES

The Philippine Senate has voted 1,000,000 pesos (\$540,000) for a year's maintenance of proposed hospitals in every province. Of the forty-eight provinces, twenty-eight lack hospitals, Colonel E. L. Munson told the American Chamber of Commerce in Manila on Jan. 17. He had just completed an 8,000-mile trip through the archipelago looking into sanitary conditions, and characterized the situation as "education gone crazy," there being more schools than are needed, while nothing is being done to improve public health.

The Russian Soviet Government on Feb. 1 asked the United States to co-operate to prevent the sale of ships manned by anti-Bolshevist reactionaries, who left Vladivostok when the Japanese troops were withdrawn, taking the Russian ships with them. The vessels were refused admission to Japanese ports and excluded from Shanghai, after trying to smuggle ashore munitions in exchange for food. One ship was wrecked off the coast of Formosa, but eleven vessels finally arrived at Mariveles Quarantine Station, Manila, on Feb. 1. Their royalist leader, Admiral Stark, was courteously received by Governor General Wood, who ordered a camp prepared for the

exiles near the quarantine station and announced that a relief fund would be raised for them. The officers and crews number 500. There are forty-seven children and eighty-two women aboard, most of them apparently belonging to the higher classes of society and unaccustomed to hardship. The Russians asked permission to engage in interisland trade temporarily, a request which Governor General Wood referred to the Legislature on Feb. 8. The American Relief Administration voted an appropriation of \$10,000 for the aid of these exiles.

The Philippine Legislature has refused the request of the Washington Government to annul the law requiring all commercial books to be kept in English, Spanish or some native dialect. The Chinese merchants protested in vain against the law.

Hondagua, a town on the Pacific Coast of the Province of Tayabas, has been made a port of entry, permitting producers to export copra direct, eliminating the haul to Manila.

Trade is improving from the depression of the last two years. Produce is bringing a profit to the producer, indebtedness to the bank is being reduced and exports are increasing.

POLAND

The House of Deputies' vote of confidence, 230 to 110, in the Government of Premier Sikorski, given on Jan. 23, was a signal victory for the Premier, in view of the fact that he had been appointed only as an emergency Prime Minister to deal with the crisis following the murder of President Narutowicz. The increasing financial burdens of the State caused by the swift decline of the Polish mark, following the further depreciation of the German mark, caused by the invasion of the Ruhr, were aggravated by the resignation, late last month, of Finance Minister Jastrzembki. One of Premier Sikorski's first official acts was to call a conference of nine former Ministers of Finance, and, on Jan. 14, the appointment of M. Ladislas Grabski as Minister of Finance and M. Ossowski as Minister of Commerce filled the last vacant portfolios.

New metal coins of 20 to 100 marks denominations, to be in circulation by the Spring of next year, have been authorized to mitigate the increasing inconvenience of paper money.

The tension of the Memel situation, the unrest in Silesia, and the Vilna neutral zone question made a trying combination, taken together with the economic difficulties. Poland had decided by Jan. 20 to maintain her close relations with France and to seek co-operation with England, as a necessary guarantee of European stability, so Premier Sikorski announced in the House of Deputies. Outlining his internal and foreign program, he said that, though greatly desiring nor-



GENERAL SIKORSKI
Premier of Poland

mal relations with Lithuania, the Polish Government would protest energetically to the allied Council of Ambassadors against "the violence of Lithuania in Memel," and would take the necessary steps to assure Polish interests. Later Poland decided to act on the Memel situation only according to such policy as the allied powers agreed upon.

As to Germany and Russia, Premier Sikorski declared to the Deputies on Jan. 20 that Poland, though forgetting the past, must insist that these countries strictly and loyally carry out their engagements toward Poland, and respect the treaties that had been concluded. He added that Poland's close alliance with Rumania had proved of great mutual service, and that it was desirable to maintain the best of relations with America, Italy, Japan and Belgium.

The founding of a Polish Consulate at Jerusalem was entrusted, Jan. 17, to M. G. Adamkiewicz, Secretary of the Polish Legation at London, this being the first time the Polish Republic has sent diplomats to the East or Near East. The large Jewish population of Poland gives her extensive interests in Palestine.

PORTO RICO

A general investigation of conditions in Porto Rico was proposed in a resolution introduced in the House on Jan. 22 by Representative Maloney of Massachusetts, who alleged that a deplorable situation exists owing to "gross violations of the organic act, land monopoly, absentee landlords and corporations and the cruelty of officials in dealing with hungry workers." In putting down strikes, he says, twenty workers were killed, hundreds sent to jail, others evicted without due process of law, free speech denied, and women and children injured as a result of brutality by police and employers' agents.

Governor E. Mont Reily, who has been actively opposed by certain factions in Porto Rico for more than a year, is reported to be ready to resign on a hint from the White House. He left New York on Feb. 3 and arrived at San Juan Feb. 8, receiving an enthusiastic reception from his friends, while his enemies remained at home.

A radio set has been installed on Cabras Island, the home of Porto Rico's leper colony, to relieve the loneliness of the patients. The gift was made possible by an anonymous contribution from New York for this purpose.

A Porto Rico American steamship company has been organized to take over the Porto Rican



E. MONT REILY
Governor of Porto Rico

business of the Baltimore Steamship Company. Manuel Gonzales of San Juan, one of the most influential citizens on the island, is President.

PORTUGAL

Senhor Silva is the first Portuguese Premier in recent times to succeed in entering upon a second year of office. The reconstruction of his Cabinet was accomplished by changing four portfolios. The new Ministers are:

SENHOR FONTOURA COSTA—Agriculture.

S. CAMOEZAS—Education.

DR. ROCHA SARAIVA—Labor.

S. VAZ GUEDES—Commerce.

The Minister of Finance on Jan. 16 introduced the budget. He declared that the situation, though exceptionally serious, was not desperate, especially if the system of internal loans was preferred to the issue of paper money and an increase of the floating debt. He estimated the expenditure at 813,415 contos (approximately \$38,680,000), with a deficit of 139,339 contos. The success of an internal loan of £4,000,000 at 6 1/2 per cent., he said, was the only thing that could prevent a fresh issue of paper money and its inevitable ill-effect on the exchange and the general situation.

The trial at Lisbon of the officers implicated in the revolutions of 1919 and 1921 to overthrow the existing republic entered on its third week Jan. 22. The first intimation of the revolutionary plot was secretly given to the Republican authorities by a friendly foreign Government, according to Dr. Barboza Viana, a Government functionary testifying for the prosecution. The attempted uprising in Lisbon was attributed to a monarchist secret society with branches in Paris, London and Madrid, funds for the campaign being contributed from abroad. By organizing a counter-espionage service, headed by Machado Santos, a founder of the republic after King Manuel's dethronement, the Government little forestalled the monarchists' decision to strike, Santos and President Granja being the first victims of the assassins on the night of Oct. 19.

Discovery of important coal fields in Portuguese East Africa was made public on Jan. 28.

RUMANIA

Anti-Jewish riots continue in Rumania. Jewish students were mobbed and beaten at Barlad and Husi, despite the police, causing martial law to be proclaimed in parts of Moldavia. There was a serious demonstration in front of the Royal Palace in Bucharest on Jan. 31. A large number of Jewish students were injured, in consequence of which the authorities ordered the university closed until Feb. 8.

RUSSIA

Nikolai Lenin's renewed illness, though said not to be dangerous, still keeps the Soviet leader from active participation in affairs of State. Stalin, Trotzky, Kamenev, Djerzinsky and Rykov are the five leaders in control.

The breakdown of the Near East Conference at Lausanne brought many reports of Russian mobilization in preparation for aiding Turkey in a war against Great Britain. All these reports were denied by Moscow. The semi-official *Izvestia*, in commenting on the Lausanne rupture, said: "Henceforth Turkey will be compelled to unite with Soviet Russia in international relations." It further declared that "Russian friendship would safeguard Turkey from a new war, as Great Britain and Greece, in view of this friendship, would hesitate to relight the war torch in the Near East." The *Izvestia* warned Turkey, however, that she might lose Russia's friendship if she continued to persecute Communists at Angora. Semi-official utterances by various Soviet leaders implied that Russia would not join the Turks in any renewal of war with the Allies, and desired only to continue her work of inner reconstruction. M. Kalinin, President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, however, in a public address declared the British attitude on the Straits and the Ruhr invasion both emphasized Russia's need of a strong army and navy. A strong note of protest against the Ruhr invasion was sent by the Moscow Government to the peoples of the world in January.

On Feb. 8, after a series of conferences held during a fortnight, the Soviet leaders definitely decided against Russia's participation in any European or Near East war that might grow out of the Ruhr or Lausanne situations. Russia will defend herself if attacked, but will take no active part in a conflict outside her own territory, even to aid German workers should a revolution develop in Germany.

More than 8,000,000 Russians will have to be fed this year or they will starve, according to the report made Feb. 10 by the American Commission on Russian Relief. The report declared that more than 14,000,000 had to be fed last year to save them from starvation, most of them being helped by the American Relief Administration and other American agencies. Slaughter of millions of horses and other farm animals for food, lack of seed grain, deterioration of farm equipment and transportation, shortage and debilitation of manpower, failure to check insect pests and other causes have combined to produce another famine this year, with a bad outlook for several years ahead.

The American Relief Administration, which was arranging to open feeding stations on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, on Jan. 30

reported great famine suffering in the tiny Daghestan Republic, on the northeastern slope of the Caucasus.

Besides an extensive West Siberian and Urals counter-revolution, conspirators on Jan. 12, and 300 Monarchist compressed by the arrest of other of vast proportions was broken up by the political police at Odessa Feb. 1. According to Cheka statistics, 60,000 Social Revolutionists are now in Russian prisons. On Feb. 2 there landed in New York 449 Russian exiles, 114 of whom were officers who fought under Wrangel against the Soviets.



(P. & A.)

NIKOLAI
KRESTINSKY
Russian Ambassador to Germany

SOUTH AFRICA

It was announced on Jan. 8 that the Defense Department was reorganizing the Commando system and the rifle associations, with the object of making the third line of defense a blend of Imperial and Burgher principles, mounted infantry being the backbone of the new force as best suited to South African conditions. It is estimated that under the new system the Burgher Commandos in the Union will muster 50,000 men.

Mr. Boydell, member of the Union Parliament and national organizer of the Labor Party, stated on Jan. 10 that Colonel Creswell, leader of the Labor Party, scored a triumph in the recent Durban Conference by securing the elimination of the Socialist objective from the parliamentary program, thus saving a split in the party. Mr. Boydell denied the existence of a formal pact with the Nationalists, but admitted an agreement to turn out the Government under General Smuts. Information from country districts in the Transvaal and Orange Free State showed that the new policy of the Nationalist leaders had perturbed the older Boers, who had been led to believe that a Nationalist victory at the polls would mean a Boer Republic.

In the House of Assembly at Cape Town on Jan. 24 the Minister of the Interior stated that the Government had no intention of introducing legislation dealing with Asiatic peoples. It was added that the influx of Indians into the Union and the insistence of those already there for equal rights with the whites had long been a source of discontent.

SPAIN

King Alfonso on Jan. 19 signed a decree abolishing the office of Commander-in-Chief in Morocco and giving command of the troops to a civil commissioner, with an advisory military council. Señor Siloela was appointed Civil Commissioner in Morocco, retaining his portfolio as Minister of the Navy.

Raisuli, the Moroccan bandit chieftain, on Jan. 18 wrote a letter to the King expressing absolute submission and loyalty. The first detachments of the ransomed prisoners held by the Moroccan rebels embarked for Spain Jan. 27. To enable the other groups to follow, a steamer was sent to Alhucemas with the ransom money in the hands of Señor Echevarrieta, a Bilbao banker, who was empowered to negotiate peace with the rebel chief, Abd-el-Krim. On Jan. 30 the first captives to arrive in Madrid were in such poor health that they had to go to hospitals. They told of shooting and torturing of Spanish prisoners by the Moors.

Scores of unemployed workmen raided shops in Saragossa on Jan. 16 and carried off much food.

SWEDEN

The Swedish press on Feb. 2 published prominently an appeal sent by the Archbishop and Bishops of Sweden to President Harding asking him to take action for the relief of the present tension in Europe, lest the ever-growing disunity in the "European commonwealth," with the starvation, the poison of bitterness in human souls, and degradation in Central Europe, result in new and more frightful wars.

Sweden's labor troubles, growing out of a deadlock over wages in the paper pulp industries, have continued to increase. On Jan. 29, a lock-out was declared by the employers, affecting 30,000 pulp mill workers and extending to the steel plants, shutting out additional thousands of workers.

Since the invasion of the Ruhr, the Rhenish Westphalian foundries have canceled their agreement with the Lorraine mines and concluded an agreement with Swedish ore firms, to remain in effect until 1932. On Jan. 21 the Swedish trade balance was reported as favorable beyond expectation. This high export surplus, the comparatively high discount rate, and the very considerable foreign bank deposits are given in London as the reasons for the rise of the Swedish crown above parity. This premium rise has occurred in spite of the State Bank's purchase of foreign exchange. On Jan. 15 the President of the Swedish Banking Association wrote to the Riksbank calling attention to the continuance of the Government's embargo on gold shipments

in the face of this premium, and urging removal of such embargo to avert any renewed decline in the foreign exchanges.

Ira Nelson Morris of Chicago resigned Jan. 11 as American Minister to Sweden, which post he had held during the World War with distinction as the dean of the diplomatic corps at Stockholm. In the first week in February, the Third Assistant Secretary of State, Robert W. Bliss, was appointed to succeed Mr. Morris as Minister to Sweden.

SWITZERLAND

The Franco-Swiss convention and new customs regulations abolishing the free zone of the Savoy district, adjoining Switzerland, were adopted by the French Chamber of Deputies on Feb. 2. This free zone was established by the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

As announced Jan. 23, the Government is sending a mission to Canada to investigate the possibility of finding work for the 100,000 Swiss now out of employment in the republic.

Although the foreign inhabitants of Switzerland had fallen to 10.4 per cent. of the population on Dec. 1, 1920, from 14.7 per cent. in 1910, the Federal Council plans the naturalization of some 12,000 foreigners a year. Also it is intended to compel about 5,000 persons born in Switzerland of Swiss mothers to become Swiss citizens or leave the country.

Alarm over the spread of Fascismo organization in Lugano, Locarno, Bellinzona, Lausanne, Zurich and Neuenburg, lest it lead to the seizure by Italy of Ticino and other Italian-speaking parts of Switzerland in the name of Irredentism, has been voiced more and more militantly in the Swiss press ever since Benito Mussolini's assumption of power in Rome.

TURKEY

The departure from Lausanne, Feb. 7, of Ismet Pasha and the principal members of the Turkish delegation for Angora, following the breakdown of the peace conference, was regarded apprehensively in allied official circles. It was feared that even if the Turkish negotiators returned to Lausanne, Ismet's disposition with respect both to the treaty clauses remaining unsettled and those already agreed upon would be altered by the atmosphere of Angora. The Angora Government's action in ordering the allied warships to quit Smyrna was regarded as indicative of the spirit prevailing in Angora. (The developments at Lausanne are treated elsewhere in these pages.)

The Quai d'Orsay received reports from the French Consul in Smyrna (Feb. 7) that the Turks were starting a reign of terror against all

foreigners, and advising immediate embarkation of the French colony there. The British sent a cruiser to Smyrna to test the meaning of the Turkish order forbidding war vessels of over 1,000 tons to enter Smyrna harbor, and to look after British citizens who had returned to Smyrna since the fire. At the same time the British and French Governments sent to Angora a rejection of the Angora Government's demand that the allied warships leave Smyrna, with a warning that the British and French warships had been instructed to defend themselves if attacked. Britain also sent naval reinforcements from Constantinople, the Dardanelles and Malta. Rear Admiral Nicholson landed at Smyrna on Feb. 8 and warned the Turkish military commander against firing on allied warships in the harbor. The time limit was extended by the commander three days to enable him to receive instructions. Meanwhile the Angora press reacted strongly to the Lausanne breakdown, and called the nation to arms.

The Turkish Government on Jan. 21 handed the allied High Commissioner at Constantinople a note of protest against Greek military concentration in Western Thrace, and added that Turkey reserved liberty of action if Greece was left free to violate the Mudania convention. Colonel Gonatas, the Greek Premier, was quoted on Feb. 7 as declaring that Greece would not become involved in a new struggle single-handed.

The activities in Turkey of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association were openly attacked by the Turkish radical newspaper, *Tevhid Afkar*, on Jan. 21. It alleged that the associations were carrying on religious propaganda under the guise of education and physical development, and poisoning the minds of future Islam motherhood through the medium of free entertainments. Organized action against the associations by the Government and by the parents of the Turkish nation was demanded.

Turkish exchange was affected by the Lausanne fiasco. With expectations of peace the Turkish pound had been skyrocketing, the dollar dropping from 170 piastres in two days. Turkish banks in Constantinople on Jan. 17 refused to exchange American dollars for Turkish money.

The ex-Sultan of Turkey, after his visit to Mecca, sailed from Port Said for a visit to the Egyptian Khedive. Mr. Charles R. Crane, the American well known in the Near East, said on Jan. 30, while en route from Alexandria to Constantinople, that Khedive Hussein was fully aware of the political construction that might be put upon his hospitality to the ex-Sultan, but felt that he must maintain the traditions of hospitality for which his house has been renowned for centuries, and could not see an ex-Caliph seek refuge in a non-Moslem country.

UNITED STATES

The annual Army Appropriation bill carrying a total of \$340,341,396.28 was reported to the Senate on Jan. 29, after the Military Committee had added \$6,687,192 to the measure as passed by the House.

The appropriation for civilian training camps was increased to \$2,200,000, and the clause prohibiting the recruiting of men under 21 without the written consent of their guardians, also objected to by Secretary Weeks, was eliminated.

Funds for construction and repair of hospitals were increased from \$497,000 to \$772,000, no part of which can be expended for new construction, "except that not exceeding \$275,000 may be used for construction of a hospital at Fort Benning, Ga."

The Senate committee struck out the provision which would have prevented continuance of retired pay to Major Gen. John C. Harbord, who recently retired to accept an executive position with a radio concern. The provision was opposed vigorously by Secretary Weeks.

The committee also eliminated an item providing \$17,500 for a survey of Northern and Northwestern lakes, and reduced by \$40,000 the appropriation for general expenses of the Chemical Welfare Service. It made no change in the \$56,000,000 rivers and harbors item, which, as approved by the House, was \$20,000,000 over the budget estimates.

Inquiries at the War Department as to the possible use of the botulinus bacillus, discovered in connection with deaths resulting from the eating of certain preserved foods, drew a statement from Secretary Weeks on Jan. 20 that the army was making progress in finding means of defense against all new gases or poisons.

Among the discoveries enumerated was the finding of chemicals for use in gas masks to protect against carbon dioxide gas, frequently found in coal mines, and ammonia gas. It was said new methods also had been discovered for fighting germ diseases and agricultural pests.

SHIPPING TIED UP

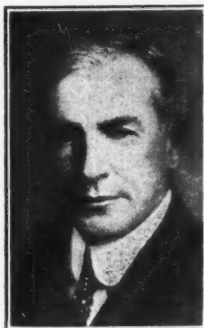
Considerably more than half of the fleet of the Government controlled by the United States Shipping Board was tied up, according to information made public on Jan. 21 by J. B. Smull, President of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. Exclusive of six army transports having 38,235 deadweight tonnage, title to which is vested in the Shipping Board, although physical delivery has not been effected, there are now 1,379 vessels of all types under the control of the Fleet Corporation, having a tonnage of 9,846,611 deadweight tons.

Of these vessels assigned to Shipping Board

tonnage trade during the month ended Dec. 21, 1922, there were 386 with a tonnage of 3,297,451. Among the vessels not in operation were 874 steel steamers with a tonnage of 5,585,160.

LIQUOR SMUGGLING

It was stated in high official quarters on Jan. 29 that the Administration, while fully recognizing



HENRY P.
FLETCHER

Head of the United States delegation at the Pan-American Congress at Santiago, Chile

that the serious difficulties the Government is facing in the smuggling of liquor into the country might be met effectively with the assistance of British authorities in British territories, could see no method of improving prohibition conditions by diplomacy. The matter had been taken up diplomatically with the British Government.

Officials were not inclined to disagree with the statement made by Representative Rogers of Massachusetts that more than a million gallons of liquor annually are being smuggled into this country from the Bahama Islands, but it was said at the Department of State that data upon which Mr. Rogers's statement was based had not been furnished to him by the State Department.

The first test of strength on the prohibition issue in the New York Legislature came on Jan. 29, when the Senate after a bitter debate adopted by a vote of 27 to 17 the Walker-Donohue resolution memorializing Congress in favor of liberalizing the Volstead act to permit the manufacture of and traffic in light wines and beer. All the Democrats present voted for the resolution, as did two Republican members. In the Assembly, the Republicans, who are in a majority there, succeeded in having the resolution sent to the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 78 to 64.

President Harding was urged on Feb. 2 to call an international conference to devise means for the suppression of the traffic in drugs.

IMMIGRATION LAW ASSAILED

The amendment of the 3 per cent. immigration law was advocated by fifty leading industrialists, financiers and professional men in the February issue of American Industries, the magazine of the National Association of Manufacturers.

"What shall we do about our immigration?" was the question asked the contributors, who

included Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation; William H. Woodin, President of the American Car and Foundry Company; Frederick D. Underwood, President of the Erie Railroad, and Guy E. Tripp, Chairman of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company.

No effort was made to suggest or influence responses, it was said, and with very few exceptions it was the consensus that the quota law had not proved the panacea for the nation's immigration ills that had been predicted by its sponsors, and that it should be amended.

CUT IN BUDGET DEFICIT

Hope that the Federal Government would close the fiscal year with no deficit and even "a balance on the right side of the ledger" was expressed by President Harding in a message from him read by Vice President Coolidge on Jan. 29 at the semi-annual meeting of the business organization of the Government, a gathering of department heads and bureau chiefs held under the auspices of the Bureau of Budget.

The President informed the assemblage that although a default of \$698,000,000 was indicated at the beginning of the fiscal year a recent estimate was that the deficit on June 30 would be only about \$92,500,000. Should this indicated deficit be wiped out by rigid economy, as the President hoped, it would be the first time since 1916 that the Government would have had a balance at the end of the fiscal year.

The resolution to submit to the States an amendment to the Federal Constitution to prevent the exemption of securities from taxation was adopted by the House on Jan. 23 by a vote of 223 to 101.

Prediction by customs officials that the tariff duties collected in January would exceed \$46,000,000 was borne out by the final computation of collections for the month, made public on Feb. 2. The collections totaled \$46,345,991, an increase over December of about \$7,000,000.

INCREASE IN SHOP WAGES

The National Industrial Conference Board stated recently that the latest monthly wage information collected by the organization showed

a continued upward movement in average hourly and weekly earnings and employment in manufacturing industries in October and November of 1922. The figures were based on schedules from plants in twenty-three industries employing 549,143 workers.

"Average hourly earnings, which were \$0.239 in July, 1914," said a statement from the board, "rose to \$0.495 in September, 1922, \$0.499 in October, \$0.502 in November. The index of average hourly earnings for all wage earners rose two points from September to October, and one point from October to November, hourly earnings at the latter date standing 110 per cent. above the July, 1914, level. Hourly earnings of unskilled labor rose more slowly since July, 1922, and dropped off slightly from October to November.

"Average weekly earnings, which were \$12.30 in July, 1914, rose to \$23.71 in September, 1922, \$24.31 in October, and \$24.60 in November. The index of average weekly earnings rose nearly five points from September to October and about two and one-half points in the succeeding month, reaching in November, 1922, a point exactly 100 per cent. above the July, 1914, level. In general weekly earnings rose more rapidly than hourly earnings, indicating an increase of industrial activity.

"Comparing these increases in hourly and weekly money earnings with changes in the cost of living during the same period, it is found that in September, October and November, 1922, real earnings remained at practically the same level because an increase in living costs went along with the increase in hourly earnings."

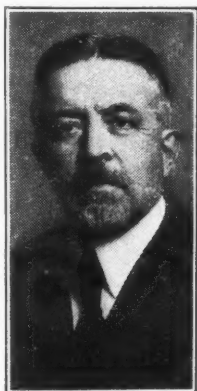
Heavy increases in the total savings deposits for 1922 in the 880 savings institutions reporting to the Federal Reserve Board were shown in a report made public by the board on Jan. 28.

The average increase of the reporting institutions, said to represent about 77 per cent. of the total savings for the country, was given as more than \$500,000,000 in the twelve-month period.

Savings deposits in the 880 banks aggregated \$5,837,363,000 on Jan. 1, 1922, and \$6,282,271,000 on Jan. 1, 1923, a gross increase of more than \$445,000,000.

COAL PEACE ASSURED

A new wage scale, which will become operative on April 1, and which will continue in force for one year, was signed on Jan. 23 by bituminous coal operators and representatives of the United Mine Workers of America at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City. The agreement, covering the tri-State competitive field in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, is practically the same as that which ex-



(Keystone)

EDWARD T.
SANFORD

Nominated by the
President as Associate
Justice of the
Supreme Court

pires on April 1. It will be used as a basis for fixing wages and working conditions throughout the bituminous territory.

The agreement calls for a wage of \$7.50 a day for day's work and \$1.08 a ton where miners are paid on a tonnage basis. These wages will be used as a yardstick to measure wages in other union soft-coal fields. The agreement continues the eight-hour day, the six-day week, the check-off system and guarantees for contract violation and provisions for settling disputes over wages or working conditions.

FAVOR CREDIT TO EUROPE

The bill of Senator Norbeck, Republican, of South Dakota, proposing an appropriation of \$250,000,000, to furnish credits in Europe for purchase of American agricultural products, was reported favorably on Jan. 24 by the Senate Agricultural Committee.

ATTORNEY GENERAL EXONERATED

By a vote of 204 to 77 the House on Jan. 25 adopted a resolution exonerating Attorney General Daugherty on the charges brought by Representative Keller of Minnesota with a view to

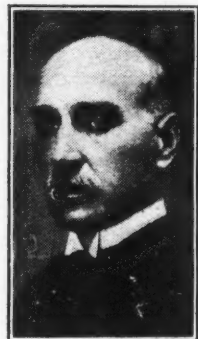
impeachment, and discharged the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the subject.

URUGUAY

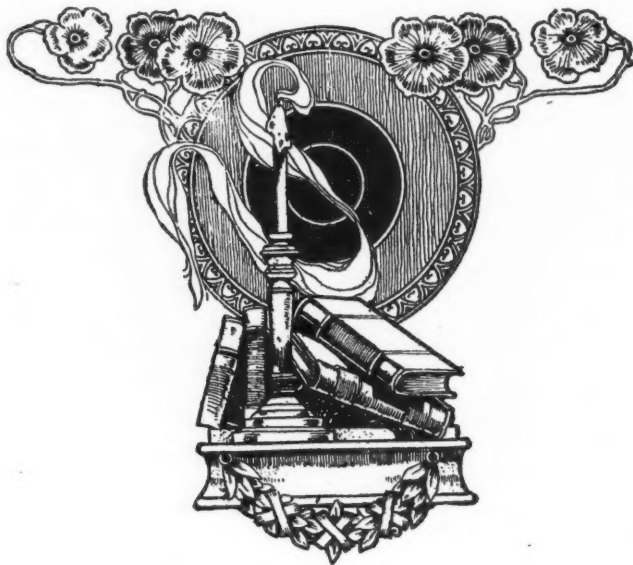
The President-elect, Señor Joseph Seriato, an engineer by profession, is receiving congratulations, from all parts of the country, both from engineering colleges and from the Labor Party.

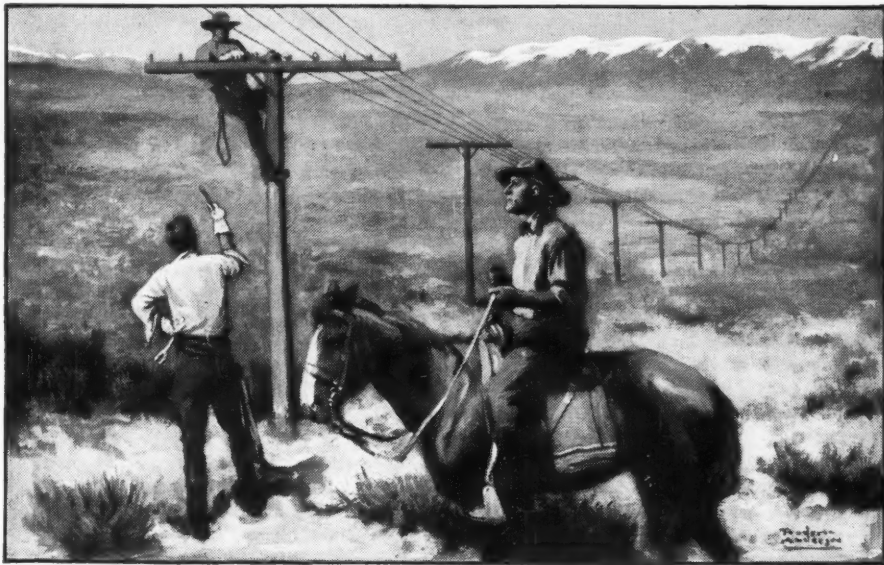
President Brum and Señor Herrera, the candidate of the Nationalist Party for the Presidency, fought a duel on the outskirts of Montevideo. Four shots were exchanged. Neither of the two opponents was injured.

An energetic campaign is being conducted in and outside of Congress for a "purification" of the electoral lists.



(Kadel & Herbert)
JOSEPH SERIATO
The new President of Uruguay in Succession to Dr. Baltasar Brum





The Bell System's transcontinental telephone line crossing Nevada.

Highways of Speech

Necessity made the United States a nation of pioneers. Development came to us only by conquering the wilderness. For a hundred and fifty years we have been clearing farms and rearing communities where desolation was—bridging rivers and making roads—reaching out, step by step, to civilize three million square miles of country. One of the results has been the scattering of families in many places—the separation of parents and children, of brother and brother, by great distances.

To-day, millions of us live and make our success in places far from those where we were born, and even those of us who have remained in one place have relatives and friends who are scattered in other parts.

Again, business and industry have done what families have done—they have spread to many places and made connections in still other places.

Obviously, this has promoted a national community of every-day interest which characterizes no other nation in the world. It has given the people of the whole country the same kind, if not the same degree, of interest in one another as the people of a single city have. It has made necessary facilities of national communication which keep us in touch with the whole country and not just our own part of it.

The only telephone service which can fully serve the needs of the nation is one which brings all of the people within sound of one another's voices.



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*Friedman at his Steinway interpreting the Liszt arrangement of the
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THE experience of the great musicians of every generation proves the permanence of Steinway leadership. In 1879 Theodore Thomas said of the Steinway, "... it is the best piano at present made." Again, in 1898, he wrote, "... the superiority of the Steinway to all others is even more apparent to-day than it was nineteen years ago."

Paderewski, Adelina Patti, Edward MacDowell, these are but a few of the great musicians who have found that each succeeding year has brought a greater Steinway into being. To-day it is Ignaz Friedman who

has said, "... the Steinway is a constant source of inspiration to me."

The art bequeathed by Henry Steinway to the world has been perpetuated. The qualities of Steinway manufacture, beloved by great musicians, are available to every music lover. The matchless tone, the resonance and easy action that inspire Friedman, are a part of every Steinway that is made. To own a Steinway, no matter what the style or size, is to own an instrument which, in every smallest detail, is a perfect demonstration of the Steinway art.

There is a Steinway dealer in your community or near you through whom you may purchase a new Steinway piano with a cash deposit of 10%, and the balance will be extended over a period of two years. Used pianos accepted in partial exchange.

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